DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 400 391 CE 072 687

AUTHOR Kent, David W.; Mushi, Paul S. D.-
TITLE The Education and Training of Artisans for the Informal Sector in Tanzania. Education Research. Serial No. 18.
INSTITUTION Overseas Development Administration, London (England).
REPORT NO ISBN-0-902500-74-0
PUB DATE Oct 95
NOTE 155p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Education; *Craft Workers; Developing Nations; Economic Development; *Entrepreneurship; Females; Foreign Countries; Handicrafts; *Job Training; Postsecondary Education; Secondary Education; *Small Businesses; *Trade and Industrial Education
IDENTIFIERS *Tanzania

ABSTRACT

This study examines the structures and processes that assist in the training of youth who aspire to become artisans working in the informal sector. Chapter 1 serves as an introduction to the report. Chapter 2 addresses political and socioeconomic developments in post-independence Tanzania. Chapter 3 considers education, training, and youth problems and maps the pathways that exist between educational provision, vocational training, and employment in the formal and informal sectors. It includes results of a small survey of primary school pupils and informal sector youth that considers their aspirations, expectations, and opinions about education, training, and employment. Chapter 4 describes the provision of assistance and vocational training by governmental and nongovernmental organizations. Chapter 5 focuses on the informal sector. It examines the government's acknowledgment of the socioeconomic importance of the informal sector and its proposals to provide for and encourage its future development. Examples of informal sector enterprises are examined. Chapter 6 presents each type of training provision operating in the country as a case study. Chapter 7 considers such factors as the following: function of primary and secondary education, suggestions to enhance current training provision and future recurrent training needs, improvement of the profile of women operators, and models to introduce innovation in rural and urban enterprises. Appendixes include interview schedules and questionnaires. (Contains approximately 125 references. (YLB)

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ED 400 391

EDUCATION RESEARCH

THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF ARTISANS FOR THE INFORMAL SECTOR IN TANZANIA

A study funded by the Overseas Development Administration (Education Division)

Serial No. 18

David W Kent
Paul S D Mushi

Overseas Development Administration

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October 1995

Serial No. 18
ISBN: 0 902500 74 0

Overseas Development Administration

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The Abstract

Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world and since independence has been governed by a single political party. At Independence the literacy rate per se was very low and one of most immediate political objectives was to raise literacy levels among the population as part of the socio-economic development of the country and for about twenty years the education of adults and children was accorded a high priority. However, this rapid expansion of educational provision has resulted in an educational system that is severely impeded by a shortage of funds, poor facilities and physical resources. In addition, the drive towards universal primary education raised the expectations and aspirations of parents and pupils. This subsequently contributed towards the development of an elitist culture that the government was unable to stem. This culture has permeated not only the educational system, but also influenced peoples' perceptions of employment and work.

Secondary education was considered to be the key to future wage-employment in the formal sector, but for the ever increasing numbers of young people who were unable to progress to secondary education, the stark reality was that they were forced to choose between agriculture, or employment/self-employment in the informal sector. A problem exacerbated by a rising birth rate, improved health care and continued economic decline that has resulted in increasing levels of unemployment and underemployment of young people.

Over the last 30 years there has been growing international interest in what is called the 'informal sector' as a mechanism of employment and income generation in developing countries. However, the government of Tanzania did not recognise, or acknowledge the economic value of the informal sector principally for ideological reasons, until the economic decline forced the government to reappraise their perceptions and policies towards local, indigenous technologies and enterprises. Enterprises, that were once despised and discriminated against are now actively supported and promoted, for they are increasingly being considered to be the principal mechanism for economic survival for ever greater numbers of people.

To operate successfully as artisans in the informal sector young people require a range of knowledge and skills. This study considered the needs of young people and sought the views of primary school pupils, street youth and informal sector employers, as well as policy makers, administrators, Principals and Headteachers. In the course of the study, the types of education and training provision was mapped and evaluated through visits to a number of registered vocational training centres that formally prepared trainees for formal sector employment and also centres that are specifically training youth for the informal sector. In addition, the training provided by a number of informal sector operators was studied.

This research provides a composite picture of the factors which influence education and training in the context of the informal sector. The report will be of particular interest to educational policy makers, administrators and academics involved in the provision of education and training. The findings will also be of value to those concerned with the development and implementation of strategies and approaches to assist the development of the informal sector and youth education and training generally.

The Education and Training of Artisans for the Informal Sector in Tanzania

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1. Introduction

Since Independence, socio-economic development in Tanzania has been inexorably linked to political ideology and over the last thirty-five years or so development has been dependent on the prevailing political climate. In the six years immediately after independence the economy grew significantly due largely to international investment. In 1967 the government embarked on a policy of African socialism that included the nationalisation of agriculture, industry and commerce and educational institutions. Education and training were considered to be two important agents of change. In addition to a commitment to universal primary education, the government introduced measures to provide both adult and vocational education in rural and urban areas. To facilitate the government's objectives of controlling socio-economic development, a plethora of interventionist policies were introduced, implemented and managed by a burgeoning civil service. In the eight years following the Arusha Declaration (1967) the economy continued to grow, yet in subsequent years this growth was reversed and the economy went into decline.

By the early 1980's it was clear that the state had over-stretched itself and the expected benefits of socialism had not been achieved. In a climate of prolonged economic decline the government introduced the first of its Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) designed to reduce fiscal deficits and promote economic growth. However, due to a combination of factors, not least shortages in consumer goods, high unemployment (especially among the youth) and a decline in real wages, a growing number of people were forced to engage in alternative and/or additional methods of income generation. These activities, now commonly known as the Informal Sector, were considered by the government to be subversive and attempts were made to prevent and/or deter participation by legislation and persecution, particularly in urban areas.

Times and attitudes change and by the mid 1980's, influenced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the international donor community, the government began a programme of economic liberalisation as part of the continuing process of structural adjustment. With the transition to private enterprise, formal sector employment has declined and public sector employees have become subject to *retrenchment*. In addition, due to economic and structural difficulties in the education system, ever increasing numbers of young people are leaving school unable to either progress up the academic ladder, gain a place on a vocational training course, or gain employment in the formal sector. The wages of formal sector employees were in real terms still declining, and no longer could the government ignore the potential of the informal sector as a mechanism for providing employment and subsistence income for ever increasing numbers of people. Indeed, credence to such activities was endorsed by President Mwinyi (1987) in a speech which acknowledged the governments' inability to adequately remunerate its employees and encouraged them to participate in other income generating activities to supplement their earnings.

The current situation is, that the country continues to experience severe economic difficulties, as the reforms associated with a free-market permeate and challenge long held norms and beliefs. The informal sector is increasingly perceived as one of the key factors in future economic prosperity and to support this notion, the government, with assistance from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) has published a policy document outlining future

intentions to facilitate its development. Fundamental changes are also pending in education, where work-skills are to be introduced into the primary curriculum, and vocational training will emphasise the change from a supply, to a demand driven system.

1.1 The problem

Rhetoric, rubric and posturing aside, the Tanzanian formal sector (according to the 1991 census data estimates), is currently only capable of absorbing between 7 to 10 % of the new entrants into the labour market, yet school leavers increase the labour force at a rate of about 0.7 million per year. This figure consists of 50% primary school leavers, about 21% school drop-outs and 29% children of school age who have never been enrolled. Compounding the employment problems of school leavers, is a general consensus that educational policy has not been geared towards self employment, rather at all stages, preparation has been towards wage employment. This is a view reinforced by parental expectation and has fuelled the migration from village to town. To these figures are added about 28,000 Form IV leavers ('O' level), 1,000 Form VI leavers ('A' level) and 500 university graduates unable to gain employment in the formal sector. There is also a growing number of retrenchees, estimated to number 25,000 civil servants, a similar number from parastatals and possibly as many as 10,000 private sector workers per year.

Despite the significantly high population lapsing into the informal sector, reports on informal sector activity have tended to be academic surveys, or governmental/donor initiated studies into specific aspects of provision. There is a need to map the provision of assistance to the informal sector and establish which government and non-governmental agencies are supporting the sector and the mechanisms they employ. More specifically, what provision is there to support and assist young people entering the sector? In addition the educational and employment pathways that exist need to be clearly defined, particularly mechanisms for providing recurrent education and training to those already operating in the sector. Above all the study aims to establish whether the preparation of youth for the informal sector is based on cohesive or fragmented policies and actions.

1.2 The focus and aims of the study

This study examines both the structures and processes that assist in the training of youth who aspire to become artisans working in the informal sector and the operational characteristics of subsistence and small-scale enterprises.

The original intention was to focus solely on mechanical (including motor vehicle mechanics) and electrical trades' training, but, early in the study it became apparent that the ubiquitous nature of trades such as carpentry and tailoring necessitated some attention. The aims of the study were therefore;

- to map the educational and vocational pathways leading to informal sector employment including entry qualifications, providers, the nature of provision, i.e. the training programmes,

- to identify and examine both formal and informal education and training provision for the informal sector, through a top down approach,

- to compare the different types of training provision in terms of a number of factors, including the process and method(s) employed, opportunities to gain practical experience, relevance to future employment needs and innovation and enterprise skills,

- to examine and compare educational provision with the perceived needs of drop-outs, Std VII leavers, trainees, employers and training providers,

- to consider how the quality of education and training provision may be enhanced,

- to identify trends and possible future needs in education and training provision for future employment in the informal sector,

- to consider ways in which innovation and enterprise can be encouraged in subsistence and small-scale enterprises in rural and urban informal sector activities.

1.3 Definition of terms

In the study, the term *youth* applies to a person between 15 and 30 years of age as defined by the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development (MLYD). However, this definition is based on government assumptions that all those engaged in productive activity are Primary Std VII leavers. In practical terms this fails to acknowledge that some of the 29% of school aged children who do not attend school are active informal sector operators. Therefore in the context of this study the definition of youth will be considered to include children aged 9 years and above.

Informal sector is interpreted as individuals or groups of people engaged in legitimate enterprises (either subsistence or small-scale), some of whom may be regulated by the state, (e.g. co-operatives and Nguvu kazi groups) but the vast majority are considered to be operating outside the legal regulations of the state.

Nguvu kazi is a Kiswahili expression '*every able bodied person should work*'. This was used as a political slogan by the ruling Party, Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in 1983 as part of its campaign to mobilise youth to form self-employment groups.

1.4 Methodology

The study involved three phases, preparatory, field work and evaluation. The principal research instruments used were; library searches, semi-structured interviews, small group discussions, observations and questionnaires (appendices 3-7). Extensive use was made of audio recording and transcription and where appropriate, video recordings to illustrate aspects of the '*working*' environment.

The preparatory phase began with extensive in-country library searches to identify the key governmental and non-governmental agencies involved in the training of youth, their policies, (past, present and future) and finally to identify and collect documentary and academic literature relevant to the study. This initial search was intentionally very broad, encompassing

all forms of youth training, e.g. electrician, carpentry, motor mechanic, tailoring, animal husbandry. The search exercise was extremely productive as it enabled the researchers to identify the principal training providers, assisted in identifying some of the issues and concerns addressed in the subsequent interviews with administrators, trainers, trainees and entrepreneurs and finally, target possible venues for field work. Building on this, arrangements were made to visit and interview senior civil servants and representatives from donor agencies. This aspect of the study was carried out in and around Dar es Salaam as the administrative headquarters of all the organisations are based there.

The second phase of the study involved field work consisting of visits, observations and interviews, at vocational training venues, primary schools and both subsistence and small scale entrepreneurs in both rural and urban locations (appendices 2). Authorisation from several Ministries enabled the researchers to conduct their enquiries in approximately 60 different institutions. To ensure the validity of the data and observations, and to avoid contrived show-piece activities or lessons, it was imperative that the research team arrived without prior notification at the institutions/sites. Attention then focused on interviewing providers and their clients, undertaking local document searches, observing where possible, practical activities and finally examining the quality and range of learning and artefacts produced by the clients. To further enhance the quality of data collected, Regional, District and Technical Education Officers and Academic Officers, Cultural, Labour and Municipal Officers in each region were consulted, interviewed and generally acted as guides in their locale. This mode of operation was welcomed by all but one Principal, as constructive feed back was provided at the end of the visit.

Site tours of training venues allowed the researchers to carry out an audit of the fabric of the building, the availability and condition of utilities, plant, equipment and other resources. Visits to primary schools also enabled the researchers to administer a questionnaire to a number of Std VII (final year) pupils about their aspirations and expectations. Similarly, primary school drop-outs operating as street youth were observed and interviewed about their schooling, working life, aspirations and expectations. Finally discussions with local entrepreneurs yielded valuable information about the relative merits, constraints and anecdotal perceptions of the capabilities of graduate trainees from the various different training providers. Views on primary education and its relevance to employment prospects were also sought.

In an attempt to ensure that the data collected represented an objective sample, the work was carried out in fifteen of Tanzania's twenty-one regions. The other six regions were not visited for technical/logistical reasons, either there were no formal training institutions operating programmes in mechanical/electrical trades, or problems of access prevented visits to these areas.

The concluding phase of the study was both comparative and reflective as data collected during the preparatory and field work was analysed. In addition further visits were made to some Ministries and agencies to ensure that this report made reference to recent developments in both education and training. Visits were also made to subsistence and small-scale enterprises in both rural and urban locations to discuss the feasibility of a number of possible methods to promote innovation and enterprise.

1.5 The structure of the report

Leading on from this introduction, the following chapter addresses political and socio-economic developments in post-independence Tanzania. Economic, education and training policies introduced over the last three and a half decades are examined to contextualise the important contributions the informal sector has made by providing employment and subsistence incomes for a significant number of people in a political climate that was until recently, hostile to the sector.

Chapter three considers education (both primary and secondary) training and the problems of the youth and maps the pathways that exist between educational provision, vocational training and employment in the formal and informal sectors. Included in this chapter are the results of a small survey of primary school pupils and informal sector youth that considers their aspirations, expectations and opinions about education, training and employment.

Chapter four is concerned with mapping the provision of assistance and vocational training by governmental and non-governmental organisations including a précis of their activities.

Chapter five focuses on the informal sector, summarises its general characteristics and then concentrates on developments in Tanzania beginning with an overview of the dynamics of ideological repression and growth. The government's acknowledgement of the socio-economic importance of the informal sector and its proposals to provide for and encourage its future development is examined. Finally, examples of informal sector enterprises visited during the field study are examined and key factors highlighted.

The penultimate chapter addresses different types of training provision which were found to be operating in the country. Each type is then examined and presented as a case study.

The final chapter of conclusions considers factors such as; the function of primary and secondary education and their curricula, suggestions to enhance current training provision and future recurrent training needs, improving the profile of women operators, and finally presents models that illustrate possible ways of introducing innovation and enterprise in rural and urban enterprises.

In addition to this report, a number of edited video tapes have been produced to illustrate aspects of the study.

2. Development in Post Independence Tanzania

Tanganyika, once a German colony and later a British Protectorate, gained Independence in December 1961 and in the following year it became a Republic. German colonial rule was short lived and had little impact on the economic infrastructure of the country. Following the First World War the country became a British Protectorate, but the country's economic development was stifled as preference was given to the more established British interests in Uganda and Kenya. Later, after a union with Zanzibar (following a coup d'état) in 1964, it changed its name to the United Republic of Tanzania.

In 1965 following a Presidential Commission, the country adopted a single party system and in 1967 initiated a process of socialism inaugurated by President Nyerere in what is commonly referred to as the Arusha Declaration. Socialism, Nyerere considered was essential to achieving human equality and in denouncing exploitation, he advocated public control of the means of production. *Self-reliance* became the clarion call and a concept that was to permeate every facet of government policy for the next two decades. To demonstrate the government's commitment and to serve as an example to the people, Party and government leaders were prevented from owning shares in private companies, receiving rents on properties or claiming more than one salary at the same time.

By the late 1980's the country was '*neither socialist nor self-reliant*' (Maliyamkono & Bagachwa 1990) having agreed to a programme of structural reforms with the IMF. Constitutional changes in 1993 allowed the reintroduction of a multi-party democratic system and the first elections were held in October 1995.

2.1 The early years 1961 - 1967

In the years following independence the country continued to promote the capitalist economic system it inherited. The government's non-interventionist economic policy coupled with a belief that the role of the public sector was to support the growth of the private sector, (except where private investment to provide support or services could not be found) had resulted in increased foreign investment and provided the impetus for a significant increase in the economic performance of the country.

In both the rural and urban areas, self-employment and small-scale enterprises were common, supplying both services (blacksmithing arts and crafts) and basic commodities such as food, tools and utensils. The population was relatively small, the land was productive and generally supported the needs of the people (except in times of drought). There was little need to develop informal sector businesses as unemployment was low and basic human needs were satisfied. In both areas people gained formal employment, i.e. on plantations or in factories. The important factor to consider was that patterns of consumption reflected traditional culture, bartering was in some ways more appropriate and accepted than monetary transaction.

Prior to Independence the country operated a three-tier school system (4-4-2-2), four years Primary school was followed by a further four years of Middle school, those successful at this level were then selected for secondary education. A further two years of study led to 'O' level (Std X) examinations and for a smaller number, the opportunity to progress to 'A' level

studies and on to higher education. The objective of colonial education policy was to ensure that there was sufficient numbers of suitably educated Tanganyikans to assist in the administration of the country. The Five Year Development Plan (1956-1961) prior to independence envisaged the expansion of middle and secondary schools at the expense of the primary school. Middle school places were to be increased by 50%, secondary enrolment increased and a Higher School Certificate introduced. In the event this did not happen due to a shortage of funds.

At independence literacy rates were significantly below those of other low income countries, with adult literacy estimated at 10% -15% and primary school enrolment only 25%, compared with an average of 37% in comparable low income countries (Maliyamkono & Bagachwa 1990). In 1961 only 10,316 children sat for the Territorial Leaving Examination (Std VIII), a pre-requisite for admission to secondary schools, of which 4,230 (41%) progressed to secondary Form I. By 1965 this figure had risen to 46,666 entrants, which represented a fourfold increase, but only 6,903 (14.8%) gained a secondary school place. It is important to note the tremendous decline in the proportion of Middle School Leavers who achieved a Form I place. In the period of four years this had dropped from 41% to 14.8%, in real terms a reduction of 26.2% in the opportunity for enrolment. This may be considered to be the beginning of the problems encountered by the youth in gaining formal employment and the emergence of informal sector activities by this group.

In rural areas, the Church and other mission organisations had established a long tradition of vocational training to support local needs as one of a range of activities to relieve poverty and some of these young people were absorbed by the Church organisations who provided employment.

2.1.1 The First Five Year Development Plan (1964 - 69)

Raising literacy levels especially among the adult population was considered to be essential in the drive to achieve *Tanzaniasation* and was one of the principal objectives of the first Five-Year-Development Plan (FYDP). The most important aspect of Tanzaniasation was to raise the literacy levels of the rural peasant in an effort to improve agricultural production. In addition the quality of secondary, further and higher education was to be enhanced to speed-up the process of replacing expatriate workers with Tanzanians, for prior to independence large companies and the public sector had favoured employing expatriates as managers, technicians and administrators, while Tanzanians performed the more menial tasks. To accomplish this, a cadre of educated Tanzanians was required in the immediate future, but the mass education of young people was considered to be a long term investment, *'first we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years'* (Nyerere 1965).

During this early period the debate about the future structure of education began. The initial idea was to combine the existing primary and middle school years to create an eight-year primary programme. However, in 1964 this was superseded by the current 7-4-2-3 system currently used.

2.2 Socialism and Education for Self-Reliance

The Arusha Declaration (1967) signalled the end of the capitalist, free-market economy and the beginning of a programme of nationalisation and centralised decision making. Nyerere's

original emphasis had been to develop the rural areas at the expense of the industrial developments sited in the towns. The government intended that school leavers would be gainfully employed in the rural areas in farming and related activities, but this view represented the very antithesis of the aspirations of increasing numbers of young people.

The government considered that capital intensive enterprises supported by foreign investment represented a covert colonialism that exploited the rural masses and rewarded the urban few. The need to develop a modern industrial sector was dismissed by Nyerere on the grounds that, '*we do not have the necessary finances and technical know-how*' (Nyerere 1967), yet within five years, due to a combination of factors not the least being a growing acknowledgement of the important role industry played in economic development, the policy had been reversed and plans drawn for the development of a long term industrial strategy.

'*Education for Self-Reliance*' (ESR) emphasised that primary schooling was a cycle of learning, rather than a selection mechanism for advancement to secondary education. Primary education, '*must be a preparation for the life which the majority of children will lead*'. Similarly the function of secondary schools was to '*prepare people for life and service in the villages and rural areas of this country*'. Nyerere considered the school curriculum needed changing to make the content of individual subjects more relevant to Tanzanian children. This would involve productive work on farms and in workshops, an amalgam of theory and practice. Parents, agricultural workers and artisans were encouraged to become involved in the learning process. This by implication would serve to reinforce the work ethic and maintain the status quo rather than encourage pupils to aspire to well paid employment in the formal sector.

These beliefs formed the basis of educational policies for nearly two decades and emphasised rural development at a time when ever increasing numbers of young people were migrating to the towns in search of jobs in the relatively well paid formal sector. The driving force for political action was a growing crisis in the education system caused by the success of the government's policies in increasing primary enrolment and the subsequent raising of peoples' (parents and children's) aspirations. Primary school entry had risen significantly since independence, but there had been little increase in secondary capacity, demand was greatly in excess of supply. The result was that from a position in 1961 where 41% of primary school leavers gained a place in secondary school by 1967 only 13% were successful. It is worth noting that between 1965 and 1970 the number of secondary school places had increased by 80% from around 23,000 to just over 41,000, although this rate of expansion was not maintained as in 1975 the total number of places was about 56,600.

The problem was not that academic standards had declined, although due to the rapid increase in the numbers of primary schools the quality of teachers, books and equipment had declined or were proportionately scarcer, but that there were simply not enough places in secondary schools. To many young people and their parents, failure to gain entry to secondary education meant that they were consigned to a life of manual labour in or around the village.

The policy of ESR could therefore be perceived as a political yet pragmatic response to defuse the emerging conflict between the ideology of the state anxious to stem urban migration and the expectations and aspirations of Tanzanian families who perceived that educational progression was the vehicle through which their children gained passage from rural, low paid agricultural employment to urban, relatively well paid employment in a parastatal organisation.

ESR was therefore an educational system designed to inculcate people into the culture of Tanzanian socialism, its principal tenets were, *'primarily in terms of mental and social attitudes rather than of knowledge and skills'* (Dore 1976).

Educational reform faced opposition from administrators, teachers, parents and pupils alike (Schadler 1968). Officials in the Ministry of Education strongly opposed the teaching of agriculture in curriculum time, arguing that, *'self-reliant activities in practical subjects would stifle the development of innovative and creative imagination, something that Tanzania's long-term development would heavily depend on'* (Morrison 1976), but to no avail. Such capitalist qualities as innovation entrepreneurship, initiative and self-motivation were ignored and deplored, as they were contrary to the socialist ideology of the government. Some parents and teachers considered it to be a return to colonial values by the suppression of aspiration, while to others *'little more than a return to farming'* (Morrison 1976). The outcome was hostility and defiance, many teachers were not prepared to learn either the theoretical or practical skills necessary to teach effective farm practice which consequently had a twofold effect on their pupils. Firstly, by displaying negative attitudes towards practical activities they were reinforcing the anti-rural culture, the very antithesis of government policy and secondly, through their own attitudes and lack of farm skills they were a very poor role model for instilling *'good-practice'*, i.e. effective and efficient methods in their pupils. Nyerere envisaged ESR to be more than merely the addition of agricultural production to the school curriculum, but due to a lack of guidance and formal training, administrators, teachers and parents interpreted it solely as this.

2.2.1 The Second Five-Year Development Plan (1970 - 74)

The second FYDP heralded the implementation of two strategies, the Basic Industrial Strategy (BIS), a long term plan (1975 - 95) designed to develop a domestic, resource based industry to cater for the country's needs and more immediately, the creation of a Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO) to stimulate small-industries. The aim was to reduce export dependency from a high level in 1974 of 48.5% to 14.8% by 1990 (URT 1974). The industries were to provide the *'basic needs'* goods for Tanzania, identified as clothing, shelter, food, health services, water supply and education. Both policies aimed to foster the development of capital goods industries with the flexibility to adapt to local industries, provide training and where necessary the development of new skills.

To support the development of a cadre of suitably trained labour, legislation in the form of the Vocational Training Acts was passed in 1972 and 1974, paving the way for the formal training and certification of artisans. In the following year (1975) diversified secondary education was introduced with financial assistance from the World Bank (IBRD) that enabled secondary school pupils to study technical, commercial and agricultural subjects. The aim was to provide training that enabled them to enter the labour market equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills to alleviate what the manpower planners had identified as skills shortages. In the event diversified secondary education was deemed to be ineffective by the World Bank and funding was subsequently withdrawn.

Central to both the BIS and SIDO were the tenets of national *Self-Reliance* and rural development. In particular the role of the SIDO was to *'assist and promote the establishment of units which employed simple, labour intensive technologies which utilise locally available human and material resource'* (Skarstein & Wangwe 1986). SIDO represented a concerted effort by the government to promote informal sector type enterprise in the rural areas. SIDO's

brief was to promote and develop small-scale industries employing between 10 and 70 employees. The government considered that such enterprises could fulfil four policy objectives. The first concerned the limited availability of capital. Small-scale industry required less capital and therefore appeared to represent feasible propositions. The second and third were both associated with rural development and the villagisation programme. Finally, the siting of industries in rural areas would enhance the local economy, provide employment throughout the year and develop technical skills within the villages. Small-scale industries, it was envisaged, would make a significant contribution to national development as they would account for 60% of projected new industries, yet require only 15% of the proposed investment. In return they would generate 10% of the country's output and employ 18% of the population.

Education policies during the period of the second FYDP sought to reinforce rural development and stem the increasing tide of urban migration. Consideration was given to redefining the function of primary schools as *'community education centres'* (URT 1969), with institutions undertaking a dual role as provider of primary education for children and concurrent education for out-of-school-youths and adults. This was seen as a mechanism for integrating formal and non-formal education at the village level. *'A school so conceived will increasingly become a focal point for the total education needs of the community, rather than serving as a somewhat detached institution for the education of children'* (URT 1969). However, this policy was never fully implemented as the pilot schemes proved to be inoperable (Kwamsisi Community School Project- Korogwe). This was part of a broader programme of villagisation devised to improve the rural social and economic life and implemented in 1973 and later reinforced by legislation in 1975. Based on incorrect assumptions (Kwamsisi was already an Ujamaa village) and coercive strategies, community school reform although supported by UNICEF, UNESCO and URT was short lived.

Increasing literacy rates and a poor rural economic structure provided little opportunity for progression to either secondary school or what the youth considered to be meaningful employment so urban migration was aggravated. Migration was not a recent phenomenon but with increasing literacy rates, ever greater numbers of educated young people were seeking employment in the towns. Mascarenhas (1976) suggests that in 1961, 33% of migrants had no formal education, by 1970 this figure had dropped to only 7% as a result of the expansion of primary education and by 1976, *'the migrants had two-and-a half times the average schooling of those who remained in the rural areas'*, data that was supported by studies carried out by Roy (1966) and Collier (1986) on the educational attainment of the rural population. This suggested that the problem was not that the migrants were unsuitable for wage employment, rather there was a scarcity of vacancies, as the economy continued to decline and opportunities for employment receded.

With little chance of gaining wage employment in the formal sector, migrants were faced with the prospect of either devising a means of income generation, or returning to the village. Self-employment was perceived to be the key for many. Construction, the service industries, (e.g. fast food or maintenance), manufacturing and the supply of basic needs, (e.g. footwear), and ironmongery were all seized upon and developed. However, due to the structural difficulties inherent in the public sector these entrepreneurs could not be formally registered with the state. To compound these difficulties the government was ideologically opposed to such activities considering them to be clandestine, exploitive and subversive, so challenging the socialist notion of an egalitarian and classless society. As they operated outside the legal

system depriving the government of tax revenue they must therefore be corrupt. In an attempt to eradicate informal sector operators the government abolished the issuance of urban trading licences to self-employed traders in 1973, but with little success.

2.2.2 The Third Five-Year Development Plan (1975 - 80)

The third FYDP sought to reinforce the socialist message, the aim of BIS was '*to restructure the industrial sector by increasing domestic linkages in order to achieve a greater degree of economic self-sufficiency*'. As a consequence, in the late 1970's and early 1980's manufacturing industry was granted about one-and-a-half times the development budget of agriculture, even though at that time agriculture was the dominant sector in the economy supporting 90% of the rural population, accounting for nearly half of the GDP, and generating over 75% of foreign exchange. This discrimination was in part attributable to capital projects established under the BIS which were favoured by international donors and other lending agencies.

This policy failed to achieve its objectives as between 1977 and the mid 1980's agricultural output stagnated while industrial output recorded continuous negative growth. In part this was due to technology transfer, for although many capital/technically intensive projects were introduced, many failed to develop. Two reasons for failure were, a lack of foreign exchange to facilitate effective planned preventative maintenance programmes and inertia within the public sector in part attributable to a lack of communication within and between civil service and parastatal agencies.

Both SIDO and the BIS were considered to have largely failed to achieve their objectives. SIDO concentrated its investment programmes in the urban areas, as only 27% of the 120 million T/sh were given in development loans to rural industrial projects between 1973 and 1981. The failure was in part due to structural difficulties in the public sector that resulted in a lack of co-ordination, in identifying client groups and in providing effective support to those receiving assistance. A study by Kahama et al (1986) found that '*60% of the total projected new plans and 15% of the proposed investment did not appear to be based on concrete data*'. Compounding the problem, the operating costs of some of these businesses were found to be significantly higher than for mass production, while the goods produced tended to be of inferior quality.

In addition, according to Skarstein & Wangwe (1986), SIDO and the BIS represented two conflicting ideological strategies, the former biased towards production by the masses, the latter to mass production. Politically, SIDO represented an ideological solution, but was not popular with either senior administrators seeking quick-fix, fast track development, or international donors who preferred to fund large *turn-key* projects. This type of capital intensive investment rather than eliminating the need for expatriate labour, reinforced dependency (James 1983, Perkins 1983). By its very nature, the concept of import substitution aligns itself towards capital intensive technologies, in an attempt to satisfy consumer demands, i.e. if the consumer is used to brand X, then to maintain the consumer satisfaction, the in-country supplier must employ the same technologies and raw materials. However, by their very nature such plants represent a significant commitment on foreign exchange deposits (if the capital costs are not subsidised by a donor) both in the short and long term, as to maintain the plant and equipment, requires further foreign currency demands to purchase spare parts. The final important factor to consider is that such industries are technology intensive rather than labour intensive and therefore tend to exacerbate rather than alleviate unemployment.

Traditionally a significant amount of foreign exchange had been derived from the export of agricultural surplus, but the lack of emphasis by central government on agriculture resulted in falling reserves of foreign exchange. The consequence was that industrial production decreased as spare parts became increasingly difficult to obtain due to a lack of foreign exchange. However, in recording that agricultural production was adversely affected by the Ujamaa Villages Act of 1975 that replaced private ownership and enterprise with a state monopoly, in practice the farmers operated a second economy selling '*a large proportion of their output to unofficial marketing channels*' (Maliyamkono 1985).

During this period urban migration continued despite attempts by central government to stem the tide. In 1976 there were attempts to resettle DSM's self-employed and unemployed in farming villages, again with little success. This situation was further aggravated by population growth, as the Tanzanian 1978 population census considered the working population (15-64 year olds) to be about 48.5% of the 17.5 million population and was estimated to be growing at a rate of 3.5% per annum, an annual increase in the potential labour force of about 380,000.

2.3 The problems of a burgeoning bureaucracy

In terms of public sector growth at least two models are possible, the so called '*Japanese model*' and the '*Indian model*'. The former is capitalist orientated, the latter socialist. In operational terms, the '*Japanese Model*' perceives the role of the state as supporting the growth of the private sector, intervention is seen as a last resort, when capital has not, or can not fulfil a role. This was the model employed from independence until the Arusha Declaration.

In contrast, socialism in Tanzania was based on the '*Indian model*' of economic development as it was increasingly based on public control through interventionist policies. The outcome was that the state assumed an ever increasing influence on economic policy, a concept commonly referred to as '*wider Keynesianism*' (Biersteker 1990 and Schott 1992). However, one of the principal difficulties with this approach, especially one perceived to have been '*ideologically loaded*' (Moshi 1994) is that the state over-estimates its capability to manage and as a consequence, '*over-stretches itself by thinly spreading its resources over an increasing number of activities, projects and programmes*' (Moshi 1994). This was the case in Tanzania. The number of public sector enterprises (parastatals) and employees grew rapidly from 42 parastatals in 1967 to 425 in 1984, a tenfold increase (Malima 1992). A phenomenal increase, the magnitude of which only becomes apparent when Tanzania is compared to other developing countries. A World Bank report published in 1988 attempted to portray the burgeoning public sector in a global perspective commenting *'only in countries as large as Brazil and Mexico (six times the population and 50 times the GDP and 3.6 times the population and 35 times the GDP respectively of Tanzania does one find more than 425 parastatals*'.

This expansion required a cadre of literate administrators and other skilled workers, fed mainly by graduates and upper secondary school leavers. The Government, according to the ILO, paid little attention to productive workers, rather, '*the preoccupation was not with the earning or producing services, but with the 'spending services'* (ILO 1981). Increased state control did not translate into increased productivity, but rather the burgeoning red-tape impeded the efficient and effective operation of parastatal activities and productive output *per se* declined.

The parastatal system seriously inhibited the assimilation of technology transfer and through failing to provide adequate incentives effectively discouraged innovation and entrepreneurial activity. By creating an inertia to change and adaptation, administrators and managers failed to take advantage of opportunities to develop, preferring instead a conservative maintenance of the status quo.

One serious consequence was in forecasting demand for manpower. The training of artisans in vocational training centres and diversified secondary schools based on supply-side forecasts of skill shortages in industry, were according to the ILO and World Bank, over ambitious and *'only too often the supposed acute shortages become surpluses, and expensively trained technicians find themselves redundant'* (Morrison 1976). A further criticism focused on the employability of the products of training centres and technical schools. There is evidence to suggest that in general the products of these institutions were poorly equipped to enter the labour market, in some instances due to a lack of suitable skills, while in others the cause was attributed to personal attitudes, elitism and expectation (Thomas 1965, Schadler 1968, Leonor 1976).

A recurrent problem was a belief that economic difficulties resulted from a shortage of skills, i.e. that the problem was quantitative, hence a reliance by government on manpower planning. This does not infer that there was a shortage of skilled/qualified manpower, rather that qualifications and skills were in many instances inappropriate for the demands of the marketplace. In reality the problem appears to be qualitative, a failure to provide new recruits and established employees with the requisite knowledge and skills to effectively and efficiently fulfil the duties associated with a particular post. One example of this was the policy of a guaranteed place for secondary school leavers and graduates in the civil service and parastatals. This resulted in a situation whereby title or tenure implied capability, which in practice led to ever increasing levels of inefficiency. Such inefficiency has led to a contracting civil service, the collapse, or privatisation of ever increasing numbers of parastatal organisations and consequently contributed to retrenchment. One implication is that these organisations no longer guarantee employment to school/university leavers. This scenario supports the notion that to be effective or competitive, organisations are beginning to acknowledge that the calibre of their employees is all important and that they must have qualifications and experience relevant to the demands of the post.

As a consequence of economic stagnation and negative growth in agriculture and industry, opportunities for employment in the formal sector have diminished. School leavers, graduates, artisans and other workers trained specifically for employment in the civil service, parastatal and other similar organisations are denied this opportunity and are forced to consider the informal sector. However, many were ill-equipped to operate in this environment as their expectations of conditions of service were in stark contrast to those experienced in the informal sector.

2.4 Structural reforms and the return to a free-market economy

During the early 1980's government successes in raising literacy levels among adults and children, in reducing infant mortality rates and improvements in health care that had increased life expectancy, were not matched by economic improvements. This situation resulted in ideological conflict between the government and the people.

Educational success led to an increase in expectations that could not be fulfilled, while economic difficulties attributable to inappropriate macro-economic policies, resulted in decreasing levels of food production and distribution and basic manufactured goods. Economic growth in real terms had been achieved between 1967 and 1975 (3.9 % of GDP and 1.2% in per capita terms), but these gains could not be sustained and the economy was characterised by declining growth rates, high interest rates and rising public sector debt. This led to the introduction in the early 1980's to the first of a series of structural reform programmes. Underlying all of these factors was a demographic time bomb, increasing levels of unemployment especially among the youth.

2.4.1 Political abjuration

Successive policies had guaranteed that unemployment among graduates was almost non-existent through restricting the expansion of higher education. However, this policy had only served to create significant unemployment problems for secondary and primary school leavers, although the government was reluctant to acknowledge this. A survey carried out by the ILO in 1976 indicated that between 25% and 33% of Form IV leavers had been unable to obtain employment or pre-service training. A similar survey undertaken five years later by the ILO found the situation to have deteriorated (ILO 1981). In terms of formal sector employment, government statistics indicated that between 1983 and 1986 a total of 43,342 new jobs were created (27,083 (1983-4), 15,130 (1984-5) and 1,129 (1985-6), yet during the same period there were about 47,000 Form IV and Form VI leavers seeking employment (URT 1987). Added to this figure are primary school leavers and tertiary institution graduates. At the same time an ILO/JASPA study estimated that unemployment rates in DSM and Tanga in 1984 to be 17.6% and 29.9% respectively and was expected to increase as a consequence of implementing structural reform programmes. The government were unwilling to acknowledge that unemployment *per se* was a problem and maintained these people were voluntarily unemployed as they could be gainfully employed working the land. *'What was needed was to orient idle school leavers back to Ujamaa villages and to the land'* in the spirit of ESR (Leonor 1985).

2.4.2 Early measures to arrest economic decline

In the late 1970's and early 1980's the austerity caused by shortages of basic commodities had resulted in the rapid growth of informal sector activities and the emergence of corruption in public sector operations, smuggling and a black-market. In an attempt to rectify the situation the government introduced the National Economic Survival Plan (NESP) in 1981 that according to Maliyamkono (1985) was a set of incoherent targets which failed to be realised and as a consequence were replaced within a year by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), a three-year 1983-85 programme intended to restore output to the 1978 pre-crisis level and improve the general economic circumstances of the country. One aspect worthy of note was that greater investment was given to agriculture, thus reaffirming its economic importance.

Coinciding with the introduction of the SAP in 1983 the government began a purge against what it considered *economic saboteurs* having convinced itself that the current climate of shortages was not due to ill-conceived macro-economic policies, but was sabotage and that *'it* (the government) *was facing a deliberate attempt to subvert public institutions to frustrate government'* (Maliyamkono 1985). In reality some people were merely reacting to a situation in which their living standards were deteriorating and their expectations and aspirations

remained unfulfilled. To the vast majority of people, participation in activities considered illegal by the state, represented the only feasible method of alleviating of poverty and hunger.

This was followed by legislation, the Human Resources Development Act (HRDA) 1984 and as a consequence 470,000 people, including the youth who were engaged in informal sector activities, were repatriated to the villages. Many of these returned to the towns as there were no meaningful activities for them to undertake in the rural areas (Omari & Shaidi 1991).

2.4.3 International assistance to alleviate economic decline

The climate of change has, if belatedly, culminated in a recognition by the government of the importance and potential of the informal sector. In May 1987 the President acknowledged that, *'since the government could not afford to pay people adequate salaries, they should be free to do various income generating activities to support themselves'*. Since then persecution of informal sector operators has diminished. Old habits die hard and in DSM, a conflict of interests between central and local governments has resulted in a periodic resurgence of hostilities towards street vendors. In 1988 and 1989 President Mwinyi formerly denounced the harassment of street vendors '*whether licensed or not*' and vowed that '*stern action*' would be taken against any police or militia found harassing vendors. Condemning such activities, the President remarked *'the traders were actually engaged in legal activities trying to struggle against harsh economic conditions facing everybody ... all urban councils should help the people engaged in petty businesses because that was one way of easing their economic burden*' (Daily News 3/5/89). In 1995, harassment still continues but in a more covert way, e.g. vendors are moved to allow for civic improvements.

The Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), devised in conjunction with the IMF in 1986 and the Economic and Social Action Programme (ESAP) introduced in 1988, were both extensions to the SAP and paved the way for market reforms on the premise that such activity would promote growth and that denationalisation and private sector enterprise would, '*increase the incentive for efficiency and thus enhance the performance of the economy as a whole*' (Lafay & Lecaillon 1993). The resulting de-regulation and subsequent liberalisation of economic activity has permeated and influenced all strata of Tanzanian life and manifests itself most forcibly to the man in the street through changes in social and employment expectations and as one might expect, has not been welcomed by everyone.

Structural adjustment has become synonymous with privatisation and retrenchment (redundancy), as industry attempts to realign itself to face the challenge of market-forces. Parastatal industries are being offered for sale or closed. Over-manning and ineffectual management has been replaced and as a consequence many employees have become retrenchees. To assist in the transition, the international donor community is active in providing technical assistance.

Musoke (1991), studying the effects of structural adjustment policies, found that the working class and especially the minimum wage earners were found to be the most economically affected, although wages in real terms have declined for all employees since the 1970's. The corollary is that ever increasing numbers of individuals and families have been forced to participate in informal sector income generating activities (*mradi*) to supplement their formal sector wage, or to abandon the formal sector altogether out of choice or due to retrenchment, in favour of informal sector self-reliance.

In recent years a number of studies and policy documents designed to encourage the development of the sector have been published. There is now almost universal acceptance of the potential of the informal sector to provide employment and mechanisms are in place to assist entrepreneurs to start-up and for established businesses to expand. In terms of education and training the government has discarded its reliance on manpower planning and begun the transition from a supply led to a demand orientated training system in its Vocational Training Centres (VTC's).

However, although mechanisms are in place to assist people enter and develop in this sector, (funded and operated by both governmental and NGO agencies), the current provision is inadequate, as it helps only a very small number of people compared to the vast numbers requiring assistance.

3. Education Training and the Problems of Youth

The function of education in Tanzania defined in *Education for Self-Reliance* by Nyerere (1967), was two fold; to establish and reinforce national identity (Tanzanisation) and secondly to prepare young people for the world of work as part of the process of manpower planning.

At Independence, illiteracy among all sectors of the population was identified as one of the principal constraints to the socio-economic development of the country and as a consequence the government introduced a number of measures that resulted in the rapid expansion of educational provision. Universal Primary Education (UPE) was considered to have been achieved in 1981, but since then attendance rates have fallen steadily.

The government considered that primary education was necessary to raise the literacy rates among the people *per se*, but more pragmatically to improve the quality of life in rural areas. This view did not have popular support, as many parents and young people perceived that primary education was merely the first stage to secondary education and thus, the passport towards formal sector employment. However, similar increases in secondary provision were not contemplated by the government and the result was that although ever increasing numbers of young people achieved the required grades for entry to secondary school, only a very small number ascended the ladder. Currently the pass rate for Std VII finalists ranges between 55% and 65%, but only about 15% of these are selected to join Form I. Of those who progress to secondary education only about 18% (5,000) go forward to upper secondary, although 75% (4,000) of these gain a place at a higher education.

Educational provision and access to formal employment since independence can therefore be described as analogous to mapping pins recumbent on their base. In both instances the base represents those who attended primary school and intended by government to work in rural areas, undertaking farming and related occupations. The stem signifies the few who progress to secondary education and the opportunity for formal sector employment. The taper signifies progression to upper secondary and finally, as the point is reached, University entry.

Training for employment in either the formal or informal sectors takes many forms and is carried out in a variety of environments. Since Independence the government's economic policies have resulted in a diversification of provision. Some policies were aimed at strengthening the country's industrial base, while others were clearly part of the drive for rural development and attempts to stem urban migration. In addition, NGO's such as Church organisations and individual employers have made a valuable contribution by providing apprenticeships and semi-skilled training to young people.

Training for employment in the formal sector was until recently based on manpower planning and therefore supply-side driven. However, a recurrent problem with the governments '*supply*' driven training policy, was an inability to adapt to the needs of the marketplace, which resulted in over capacity in some trades and shortages in others. Training in Vocational Training Centres (VTC's operated by the government, church and private organisations) emphasised the development of technical competencies and little or no consideration was given to management or enterprise skills. Attitudes are changing, for over-capacity in the formal sector has resulted in retrenchment and greater numbers of VTC graduates are forced

to consider employment or become self-employed in the informal sector. The challenge for VTC's is therefore to equip students/graduates with the knowledge and skills necessary to operate effectively in the informal sector.

Support from the government over the years has also made provision for the training of young people for employment or self-employment in the informal sector through the establishment of Post-Primary Technical Centres (PPTC's), Folk Development Colleges (FDC's) and Nuguvu kazi programmes, while in recent years a number of NGO's (TYDEF, EDF, RYTE) and private institutions, have made important contributions.

Since the early 1970's increases in the birth rate coupled with improvements in health and social welfare, have not been matched by economic growth and as a consequence, unemployment and underemployment, especially among young people, has developed into a major problem. Frustrated by the perceived lack of opportunity in rural areas, urban migration has been the solution for ever greater numbers of young people. Here, faced with the stark reality of little or no opportunity to obtain formal employment, many turned to more resourceful methods of income generation. Some youths earn a subsistence living in the informal sector, while others resorting to crime and other anti-social activities. However, the government until quite recently has consistently maintained that youth unemployment was not a problem as there was employment for all in the village and attempted to repatriate them but without success.

As a consequence, prior to 1987 the government did not acknowledge the specific problems of the youth. The involvement of young people was implicit in government policies and campaigns that included, Education for Self-Reliance (1967), Health for Survival (1973), Food for Survival (1974), Musoma Resolution (1975), Universal Primary Education (1981) and Human Resources Deployment Act (1983) etc. Many of these policies failed to accomplish their objectives, in most cases due to a combination of poor planning and implementation. However in 1987 Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) produced a comprehensive National Policy on the rearing of children and the youth that concentrated on guidance and counselling, to combat what it considered to be anti-social behaviour, although issues relating to youth employment were not considered. The policy was however the precursor to the establishment of the Directorate of Youth Section in the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development, who are actively involved in providing assistance to Nguvu kazi youth groups.

The final comments to make in this introduction reflect on the premise that in the past many government policies were based on political ideology and a significant number failed to achieve their objectives. In part this can be attributed to one or more of a number of factors; political naiveté, a disregard for expert opinion, a lack of expertise, or the lack of a suitable knowledge base. Furthermore the implementation of policies were hindered by the proliferation of the state bureaucracy. To cite an example, responsibility for aspects of Education Training and the Youth is currently shared between three Ministries and within each Ministry the portfolio may be delegated to more than one Directorate. However, within a Ministry inter-directorate communications, roles and responsibilities and those between Ministries are not always clearly defined. The result has been that without effective communication, co-ordination and consultation duplication of services and a waste of finite resources has and continues to occur. In addition, within individual Ministries, top-down organisational structures impede efficient and effective operations as they suppress initiative and encourage procrastination.

3.1 Educational provision

The current aims of education in Tanzania today are little different from those defined by Nyerere in 1967. What has changed is that politicians have acknowledged the need to integrate and co-ordinate provision, thus maximising the financial, human and material resources available to the system and provide a cohesive programme of education and training for young people (URT 1993).

The current structure of Tanzania's formal education is based on 7-4-2-3+ (7 years primary, 4 years secondary standard ('O' level), 2 years secondary higher ('A' level) and 3 years + tertiary level) system. In recent years a number of studies by Special Committees (1983, 1987) and the UDSM (1983), have considered the feasibility of changing to an 8-4-4 system. Each has opted to maintain the *status quo*, citing the financial cost incurred in changing to be the principal constraint. However, the socio-economic value of the proposed change was acknowledged by each group. Leavers would be a year older and therefore more mature before progressing to secondary school, vocational training, seeking employment, or operating petty businesses in the informal sector.

To establish and maintain a profile of educational attainment, statutory testing was conducted at regular intervals (Std's IV and VII, Forms II, IV and VI). In primary Std IV and in secondary Form II, testing was principally for diagnostic purposes, while the remaining tests are administered at the end of each phase and are the principal instruments used to determine the pupils future direction, i.e. either up the academic ladder, into vocational training or the market-place. However, due to a logistical difficulties and a scarcity of funds, testing at Form II has been withdrawn. Testing at Std IV may soon be discontinued due to similar problems.

At the end of the primary phase, students are awarded a Primary School Leaving Certificate (PSLC) that represents in practice a certificate of attendance, as academic achievements are not recorded. The MEC policy is that academic achievement is not revealed to parents or pupils, a similar procedure is adopted with Form IV leavers who are not entered for 'O' levels or do not achieve the required grades.

Despite significant increases in enrolment rates both at primary and secondary levels, the quality of provision is deteriorating and is currently regarded as very poor. Increasing numbers of young people either drop-out of school early, or fail to achieve a creditable grade at the end of Std VII. Much of the blame for this is attributable to an under-resourced system unable to cope with the demands made on it. However there are more fundamental pedagogical concerns which need to be addressed, namely the content of the curriculum and methods of instruction. A recent government report commented that '*85% of primary school leavers neither secure formal training courses, nor manage to undertake successful self-employment in the informal sector*' but of greater significance to this study, the authors considered that based on the Std IV and VII tests, the system was unsuited to the needs of the learners, for they '*seem to have failed to examine mastery of those important skills which help school leavers earn a living in the informal sector*' (MEC/MSTHE 1993). The conclusion is that the curriculum and the assessment instruments are designed to support the academic progression of the few who advance to secondary education, rather than facilitate the more pragmatic needs of the vast majority of primary school pupils destined for work in the informal sector.

One subject of direct value to would-be artisans in the informal sector should be science. But the general consensus among academics is that the primary science curriculum (Std IV to VII)

is highly academic and is intended to prepare pupils for secondary education. The curriculum is devoid of practical examples denoting everyday application. At the secondary level a similar picture emerges and the emphasis is on the recall of knowledge rather than the application of knowledge. Practical science is limited to demonstrations to verify, rather than concentrating on investigation and application. In the past a number of initiatives have been piloted at both phases, but all have failed mainly due to *political reasons*. Critics consider that much of the blame for the inadequacies of the current syllabuses rests with Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE, formerly the Institute of Curriculum Development ICD), who traditionally operated in a vacuum by preparing curriculum and text books without consulting teachers or other professionals (TADREG 1995).

The comments about the educational system so far have been general, in an attempt to provide an overview of the system. The primary and secondary phases will now be examined in depth to determine the extent to which they support or inhibit a young persons development towards employment in the informal sector, although it is acknowledged that increasing numbers of graduates from tertiary and higher education are being forced to seek employment in this sector. Factors such as enrolment, supply-side and demand-side difficulties and constraints, the curriculum, institutional and organisational issues and current/future initiatives to assist educational provision are considered.

3.2 Primary education

Increasing literacy rates through UPE was one of the governments principal objectives during the 1970's. However, in striving to fulfil this objective, rapid expansion has resulted in a plethora of long term problems, many of which are examined in the following sections.

3.2.1 Enrolment

UPE was considered to have been achieved in 1981 when 98% of 7 year-olds were enrolled for Std I. Since then there has been a steady decline in enrolment (only about 88% in 1992). More alarmingly drop-out rates are estimated to be in the order of 10-15% attributable to a number of factors both cultural and economic. Here the data shows that significant difference in enrolment rates exist between rural and urban areas, with enrolment higher in urban areas. A further factor to consider is the difference between enrolment and participation. One of the aims of the Education Act No 25 (1978) was to ensure compulsory enrolment of all 7 year-olds and failure to comply would result in the parents being called to account. This has led some parents to enrol their children to comply with the legislation, only to prevent or condone future none attendance. Therefore actual participation rates are somewhat lower than official statistics. Again this action is most apparent in rural areas where the demands of the *shamba* conflict with those of the state.

UPE was successful in increasing the enrolment rates of girls. In 1961 girls accounted for only 40% of new entrants, while ten years later although enrolment overall had increased by over 50%, girls still only accounted for 42% of Std I pupils. Finally, in 1985, gender equality was achieved, although a continuing problem has been that drop out rates among girls is significantly higher than for boys.

3.2.2 Supply-demand side problems

In preparation for UPE, the government embarked on an expansion programme that involved building schools and the training of significant numbers of teachers. The programme, although

it achieved its short term aim of UPE, has left a long term legacy of poorly built and equipped schools staffed by inadequately trained teachers.

3.2.2.1 Buildings

These difficulties have not abated but become exacerbated. The latest estimates by the MEC are that 70% of the country's 10,400 primary schools are in a dilapidated state and the problem is most acute in rural areas where schools that were constructed using local indigenous materials are in danger of collapsing. Furniture in some schools is non-existent, in many totally inadequate due to age or a lack of maintenance, in the remainder of schools, insufficient due to the very large class sizes. (In some classrooms there are so many children that there is no room for chairs or furniture). In the majority of cases text books and other resource materials are either non-existent, or in need of replacement.

3.2.2.2 Staffing

In less than 20 years the number of primary school teachers increased from just under 29,000 (1974) to over 98,000 (1992) an increase of 340%. Over 70% of these teachers are classified as grade C/B indicating that they are Std VII leavers who have received a maximum of two-years teacher training (many UPE trained teachers received only 8 months). The legacy is that current estimates by the MEC (1995) suggest that there are 35,000 inadequately trained teachers. The remainder are educated to Form IV level before undertaking two years training. Such a high proportion of Std VII level educated teachers has implications for the quality of provision, as these teachers do not possess the cognitive knowledge and skills necessary to enhance the quality of teaching and learning. In recent years the quality of educational provision has been further eroded by disaffected teachers. Poor training, remuneration and conditions of service present little incentive and as a consequence morale among teachers is extremely low, also unethical behaviour and absenteeism is relatively high. During the field study we found that a number of teachers were absent from their classes, not as the result of illness but to conduct/operate businesses which they considered to be more important, as they represented their principal sources of income.

3.2.2.3 Resourcing

These core problems are further compounded by a number of supply-side structural difficulties that have been highlighted in a number of studies (ILO/JASPA 1986, UNESCO 1987, URT, 1988 URT/ESRP II 1990, MEC/MSTHE 1993, MEC 1995). The URT report commented that *'although steps have been taken in recent years to improve the supply of teaching materials, basic classroom equipment and textbooks, in primary schools, severe shortages still abound'*. These shortages are the direct result of a scarcity of funds, bureaucratic inertia and a lack of raw materials, (e.g. paper, ink etc). The scarcity of funds has been a recurrent problem, the bureaucratic inertia is in part due to the funding situation but the principal obstacle is the plethora of rules and regulations that permeate the process of curriculum development and text book preparation. The final complication is the distribution system which again suffers from burgeoning red-tape, ineffective communications and poor transport.

3.2.2.4 Class size

In logistical terms, class sizes range from 50 to 150 pupils with the average about 80 pupils. Such large numbers are counter productive to quality provision. Such large groups coupled with acute shortages of teaching materials and an overloaded curriculum (UNESCO 1987) dictate a reliance by teachers on the chalk-and-talk paradigm and this is likely to remain the case in the foreseeable future, for even if teachers were provided with training in other

paradigms unless the number of children per class is drastically reduced they would be unable to employ them.

3.2.2.5 The curriculum

The structure of the primary curriculum remained largely unchanged between 1976 and 1992 when the 13 subjects were reduced to a core comprising of 7 subjects. The revised curriculum is intended to reduced illiteracy rates among the school population by emphasising the 3R's. Curriculum overload was considered to be one of the reasons why children failed, but in reducing the number of subjects this has merely shifted the load as much of the content of supposedly defunct subjects has been incorporated in the already weighty content of the core subjects.

The science curriculum (Std's IV to VII) in keeping with the other subjects is overloaded, highly academic and is intended to prepare pupils for secondary education. The syllabus is devoid of practical examples denoting everyday application. This has not always been the case, as science education pre-and post independence tended to stress the applied nature of the subject in terms of agriculture and health. This colonialist approach was abolished in 1964 in favour of academic or pure science. An approach that was subsequently reinforced by syllabus changes in 1972 and 1983. Other initiatives, that attempted to introduce an enquiry-orientated pedagogy were piloted, e.g. the African Primary Science Programme in the 1960's (Bajah 1981), while in the 1980's attempts to reintroduce Agricultural Science also failed (Reidmiller 1989). In both instances *political reasons* were cited as the principal excuse for their demise.

Mathematics is another important subject for artisans to study and the evidence suggests that as this subject requires the minimum of resources to teach it, pupils will receive adequate instruction from teachers.

One area of the curriculum that remains unchanged is ESR activities that in theory represent about 25% of the timetable. There is evidence to suggest that this figure is flagrantly exceeded in some schools especially in rural areas where shortages of teaching materials are most acute (TADREG 1993). These activities especially in rural areas are accorded little value by parents and pupils alike for a number of reasons and participation rates are low. In a recent study of rural schools '*pupils frequently play truant in order to avoid self-reliant activities*' (TADREG 1993). The authors went on to describe that both parents and pupils considered such activities as exploitive for two reasons; firstly, pupils were not taught useful skills and secondly they did not see any tangible evidence of improvements to their school for their efforts.

3.2.2.6 New initiatives

There are proposals to introduce a subject called *Work-skills* in the near future but no details about the content or the subject or firm date for implementation has been issued by the MEC. Ministry Officials would only confirm that the materials were being prepared TIE.

Reducing the number of subjects, or introducing *work-skills* does not address the fundamental problem of curriculum reform, i.e. how to make the content of primary education more relevant to the needs of the client group. A number of international donors are actively assisting the primary phase, World-Bank, UN, CIDA and the Irish, but only DANIDA are currently involved in a major programme of curriculum reform.

Began in 1992 the Primary Education Programme (PEP) represented a concerted effort to develop a cohesive package of curriculum development that consisted not only of syllabuses, but was supported with classroom resource materials, teacher in-service and appraisal and finally, the construction and equipping of support centres. Permeating all aspects of the work was the need to provide a curriculum that would enable meaningful progression to be achieved from Std I through to Std VII.

In 1993-95, pilot projects began in two regions Mbeya and Zanzibar. The first stage in the process was to establish a rapport with the consumers, i.e. to establish the needs of parents through workshops designed to raise their awareness of issues and to encourage them to become active participants in the programme. Later pedagogical and assessment models were developed by in-country experts from the MEC and Faculty of Education UDSM. The current status of the programme is that it has been extended to include two further disadvantaged areas Rufiji and Meatu.

One of the principal constraints in this project is the monopoly on text book development by the TIE. The current MEC policy is that the TIE are responsible for all text book production and this represents a bottleneck in the programme.

3.2.2.7 The administration and management of schools

Decentralisation introduced in the early 1970's was intended to foster greater participation in local decision making, but in practice this represents little more than an exercise in subjective democracy which has resulted in ambiguity and the mis-appropriation and embezzlement of funds by government officials (MEC/Mwingira 1995). Power lies with the REO's and DEO's who are representatives of central not local government, while the district councils are responsible for salaries and the allocation and distribution of funds to schools. The notion of involving the consumers in the educational process had, until recently not been considered an important issue by the government. Consumers were considered as passive recipients, even though they contributed 45% of the total expenditure (plus 10% from donors and 45% from central government).

In practical terms the growing dissatisfaction by the consumers are characterised by two recurrent and interrelated themes. The first is the notion of accountability, or in this case the apparent lack of it. The second is utilitarian and focuses on the concepts of value added and value-for-money. The following three scenarios serve to illustrate these points as they were either reported in the literature search or were supported by the findings of the field study. Poor parents forced to pay school fee's perceive that their money is not being spent to improve the quality of their child's education, so they begin to question the value of sending their children to school. Similarly, disaffected pupils frustrated and disillusioned with what they perceive as inappropriate learning experiences, vote with their feet and drop-out. The opportunity to conduct petty business or participate in other paid employment also exerts a significant influence on young people who are realistic enough to know that they have little or no chance of gaining a place at secondary school or a formal vocational training centre.

In response to comments and actions such as these and the continued decline in the overall quality of provision (and significant inequalities in provision between regions, districts and individual schools) identified by many commentators (Omari et al 1983, Ishumi 1990 and TADREG 1993), the government are currently considering a number of options to increase consumer participation (MEC 1995). Calls from international donors such as DANIDA for

improved governance and more transparent decision making at local levels highlights the need for tighter controls of financial transactions and the reduction of waste, possibly by direct funding to schools. The empowerment of consumers through the formulation of school committees and boards is gaining credence as one of a series of measures that may be introduced to regenerate primary education.

3.3 Secondary education

Educational policy in Tanzania has since the early days of independence represented something of a double edged sword. An educated population is an acknowledged pre-requisite of national development, at the macro level to cope and adapt to change, while on a micro level to provide the human capital necessary to successfully integrate technology transfer, to manage, operate and maintain new technologies and methods of production. Education by implication also implies empowerment and socio-economic status. An educated person has the capability to make reasoned judgements and to question the actions of those in authority, while their intrinsic and extrinsic expectations and aspirations are heightened.

To reiterate what has been previously stated, access to secondary education was restricted and closely aligned to forecasts of manpower planning. Secondary school graduates were guaranteed further training or employment by the state. However, as a result of political and economic liberalisation this is no longer the case. Regardless of this the demand for secondary education has continued to intensify and this has led to an increase in the number of private secondary schools. Current government statistics indicate that of the 13.6% of Std VII leavers who entered Form I, 5.9% attended government schools, while the remainder came from private schools (BEST 1993).

3.3.1 Enrolment

In gender terms, girls are under represented as the current ratio at lower secondary is 6 : 4 in favour of boys, while at upper secondary this figure is further reduced. Studies by Malekela (1984), Lynch (1990) attribute the steady decline in participation to a number of factors; pregnancy, marriage, lower cultural aspirations and finally the poor performance of girls in the National Form IV examinations.

Under representation at secondary level is also linked to the policy of diversified provision, which in practice is culturally biased towards male participation, for statistics published as early as 1981 & 82 clearly illustrate that while there was an equal gender mix in agricultural schools, 45% participation in Commercial schools and 100% in Home Economics women constituted only 20% of the population of Technical schools. Current data (December 1995) provided by the MEC indicates that this situation continues, even though in the early 1990's the government began the transition towards co-educational technical secondary education. Enrolment data provided by the MEC for eight government technical schools, six of them co-educational showed the gender ratio was about 5 : 1 in favour of boys. However, this figure is distorted, as no provision is made for girls to progress to Forms V and VI at the schools sampled.

3.3.2 Diversified provision

The effects of political ideology and manpower planners has resulted in a variety of secondary provision, academic, diversified and technical. All institutions suffer to a greater or lesser degree from a lack of funding, teaching materials and a reliance on chalk-and-talk, or

demonstration. Indeed many of the difficulties highlighted in relation to primary provision are equally true of secondary education, so there is no need to elucidate on them. The focus is therefore on diversified provision as many of the graduates of these institutions are destined for employment in the informal sector.

Diversified secondary schools were introduced in 1975 with funding from the World Bank and specialised in Agriculture, Home Economics, Commerce and Technical Education. The aim was to shorten the time taken to produce skilled labour by equipping the students with the knowledge and skills necessary to become productively self-employed in the rural and urban informal sectors. However, subsequent studies evaluating this form of pre-vocational training by the World Bank, considered them to be ineffective and withdrew their support. Middleton et al (1990), considers that the per student recurrent costs of Vocational and Technical Schools exceed those of academic schools by as much as 200% in some technical trades.

However some of these schools continue to operate although ineffectual, while the government's position is now aligned with the World Bank and there are proposals to reform them. A MEC/MSTHE (1993) policy document noted these institutions suffer from a combination of, supply-side structural difficulties, poor institutional linkages and a lack of employment opportunities for graduates and as a consequence recommended that they should be abolished. The same source considered that students completing these courses were deemed by employers and the government to be ill equipped to engage in productive activities in either sector, as a result of their studies, nor were they necessarily suited to enrolment in tertiary courses. Those graduates who were successful in gaining employment did so on the strength of their academic qualifications, rather than their vocational skills.

As part of the diversification programme a number of schools were designated as technical secondary schools. Their aim was different to the schools noted above, as they combined academic studies with technical education knowledge (in either, Mechanical, Electrical or Civil engineering) to enable graduates to either progress to tertiary education or gain employment as technicians in the formal sector.

Current enrolment is only about 4% of Form I entrants, nevertheless these institutions are considered to be fulfilling their objectives as many Form III students are entered for national examinations (Trade Test III) and about 75% of Form IV graduates continue their studies at tertiary level. There are currently 20 technical secondary schools, but the government propose to increase the numbers by converting a number of diversified technical secondary schools.

3.3.3 The academic curriculum

Only one curriculum area will be considered in this section, namely science which is taught through three separate subjects Physics, Chemistry and Biology. The curriculum is characterised by overloaded syllabi that are presented in a fashion which decontextualises the various topics making them appear abstract, rather than of relevance to the future needs of the students. The Physics and Chemistry syllabi were introduced in 1976, while Biology was revised in 1989. Attempts to reform the curriculum both in terms of content and pedagogy have been made, but like those aimed at the primary phase have failed for political reasons. The Secondary Science Project (SSP) based on the British Nuffield courses was first tried in 1968 but was withdrawn in 1971. The most recent endeavour was the World Bank funded, TIE developed Unified Science Project (USP) which ran from 1990 to 1994. This initiative in principle represented the opportunity to introduce radical reform in a holistic manner similar to

the primary PEP project. In practice it was considered to be too radical, as it challenged long held beliefs among politicians, administrators and teachers about the elitist nature of science education and science teaching and in response to a number of reports, was abruptly cancelled by the Commissioner for Education (TADREG 1995).

What must be lamented is that the views of the consumer were not considered to be important. Quoted in the TADREG report, an inspector critical of the USP citing teachers perceptions about the new syllabi wrote, '*pupils were said to have found them too easy and their performance is better compared to the old syllabi*'. At first this may be interpreted as evidence of the elitist attitudes held by science teachers, but this may have masked a more subtle message, that the pedagogy employed may have been more conducive to the needs of the students.

In relation to the current teaching of science, a study by Mushi (1992) into the teaching of Physics, found that in Form III out of a total of 78 periods only 18 were assigned to demonstration activities, while in Form IV only 2 of the 63 periods were designated for this purpose. More alarmingly was that over 40% of teachers were unable to identify any aspects in their schemes of work which attempted to contextualise the topic.

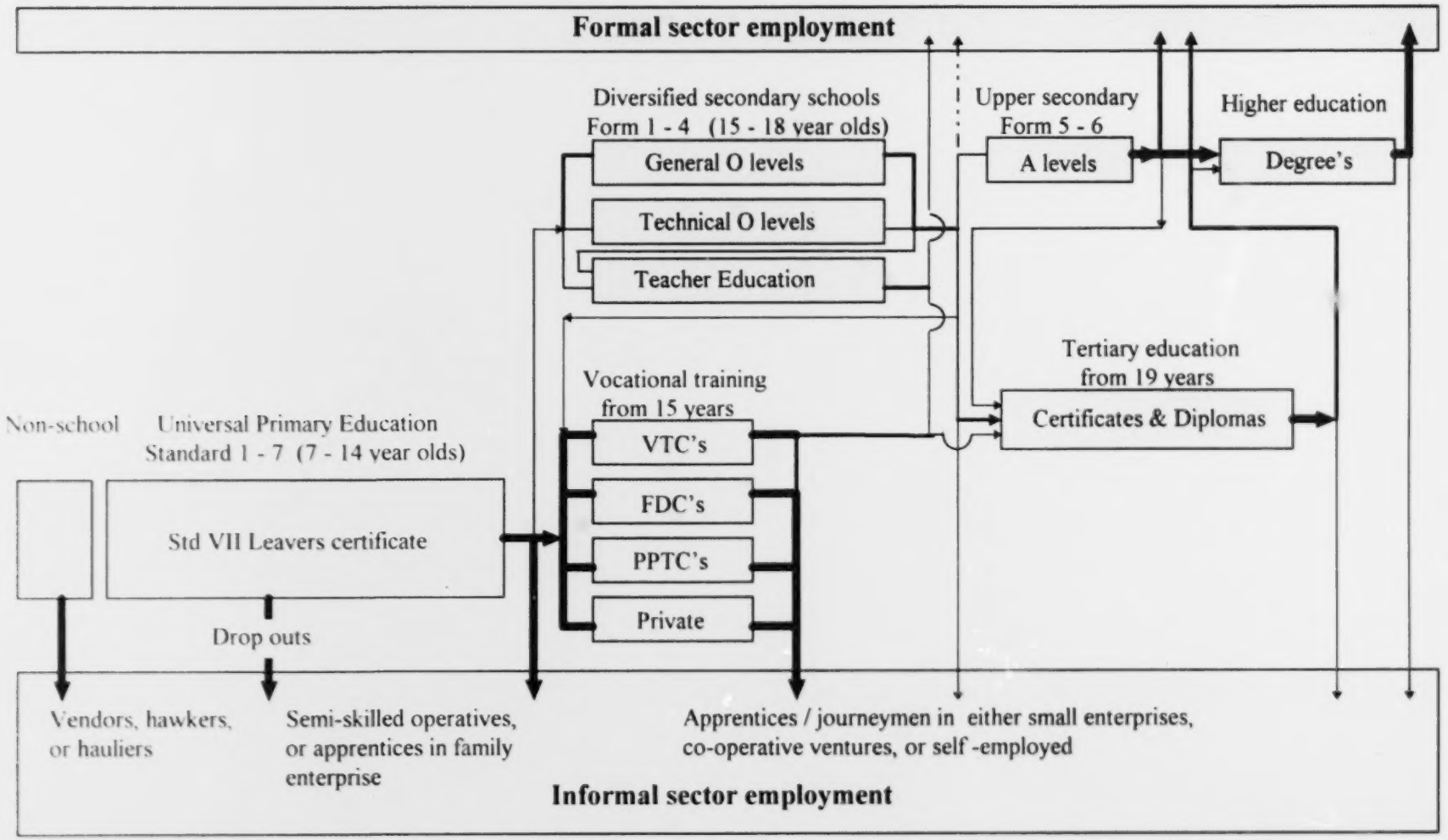
3.3.4 The promotion of science and technology

The final aspect to consider is the promotion of science and technology within secondary schools. The principal vehicles for encouraging the application of science are the Secondary Schools Science and Technology Exhibition and the Zanzibar Science Camp Project (ZSCP) which began in 1988. The project takes 100 young people and their teachers for a three-week programme of activities with the aim of developing, '*the kind of active, enquiry based education and science and technology that will empower the people and make these subjects more interesting and enjoyable*' (ZSCP 1992). The aim is that these pump priming activities will act as the catalyst to change the attitudes of both the teacher and student towards science and technology.

A review of the literature yielded no evidence, that schools undertook any collaborative activities with businesses representing either the formal or informal sectors. Mushi's study suggests that this may be in part due to financial and logistical problems, but the overriding constraints are an overloaded syllabus and a consensus that such contact is irrelevant. Such an attitude although anticipated, negates the potential of schools to assist in the promotion and development of the informal sector.

3.4 Pathways to employment

Of more immediate interest is the interface between education, training and employment and the pathways towards employment in the formal and informal sectors. The diagram on the following page illustrates the opportunities and pathways for young people. The thickness of the line represents a crude quantitative indicator of distribution where two or more directions are possible. In addition the numerical data in the following narrative are based on the 1991 Informal Sector Survey. Apprentice or semi-skilled training that is undertaken in the workplace is indicated in the grey areas that denote the formal or informal sectors.



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About 12% of informal sector operators (200,000), have not been enrolled in primary school and consequently their opportunities are constrained by their illiteracy and a significant proportion begin their working life by engaging in petty businesses and manual labour. Those who are successful manage to establish themselves as shop keepers, and other similar service activities. Some are more fortunate in that they gain an apprenticeship through the extended family system or, '*saidia fundi*' (learning from the artisan) where they begin as either unpaid or cheap labour.

Primary school drop-outs follow a similar trend and account for around 23% of operators (150,000). In gender terms the ratio is 35% female and 65% male. Those who complete Std VII (350,000) in theory have a number of options, but in reality only a few enjoy the privilege of progressing to either secondary education, regulated vocational training, or teacher training. Of these 63% (220,500) join the informal sector immediately (50.5% female and 45.5% male) undertaking a range of activities similar to those already described. Only about 15% (40,000) of PSL progress to secondary education, while a further 22% go for training either vocational or teacher education. Discounting those who go for teacher education current estimates of capacity in vocation training institutions are listed below.

INSTITUTION	CAPACITY	ANNUAL ENROLMENT	ANNUAL OUTPUT
Predominantly training for the formal sector			
Technical Secondary Schools	4,280	3,580	3,080
TAP Technical Schools	8,000	2,000	1,700
Mission Trade Schools	800	700	665
Vocational Training Centres	2,860	2,926	2,140
SUB-TOTAL	15,940	9,206	7,585
Predominantly training for the informal sector			
Post Primary Technical Centres	11,000	5,243	3,570
Folk Development Colleges	3,600	2,600	2,210
Other private provision (not specifically defined)	2,340	915	895
SUB-TOTAL	16,940	8,758	6,675
GRAND TOTAL	32,880	17,964	14,260

Source: URT/MLYD March 1993

Based on these official statistics, only a small percentage (15%) of PSL can be accommodated in further education and formalised training courses.

Overall enrolment represents only 54.6% of capacity and there is clearly a preference for training that has traditionally been aligned towards formal sector employment, with the exception of TAPA schools. TAPA schools were popular in the early 1970's and offered trades training mainly in carpentry and masonry. Constrained by a shortage of funds some have closed down, while of those that remain, many now offer general secondary education. Therefore excluding TAPA schools, formal providers appear to be enrolling about 90.8% of

capacity with a drop-out rate of 18%. In comparison to the informal providers where the figures are 51.7% for enrolment the drop-out rate is about 24%.

Trainees from the various training programmes whether regulated or non-regulated enter the labour market with little or no careers guidance or counselling. Institutions orientated towards the informal sector make little or no attempt to place their graduates in in-plant training, while institutions geared towards the formal sector are faced with a similar problem. There are in theory, mechanisms to provide guidance and support to secure in-plant training for trainees and to monitor their progress during this phase of their training, however, due to a number of constraints this process is not generally adhered to.

Of those who completed Form IV ('O' level) only 18% (5,000) gain access to upper secondary education ('A' level). Some of those who fail to achieve the requisite grades opt to undertake formal vocational training at VTS's. This trend is increasing due to the problems associated with retrenchment in the formal sector and is compounding the problems of PSL's.

Students from technical schools take a variety of paths. A small number of students go forward to 'A' level studies, while a similar proportion look towards the formal or informal sectors and seek employment as technicians. About 75% progress to technical colleges to study for Full Technician Certificate (FTC). A few will continue with their studies to diploma and degree level.

Based on these official statistics the following trends emerge. A great proportion of 'A' level graduates (75%) advance to higher education. The options for those unable to achieve this are either, direct employment in the formal or informal sectors, or in recent years as teachers (a small number attempt to gain employment as teachers in the growing number of private secondary 'O' level schools).

Secondary school leavers ('O' and 'A' level) both experience the greatest difficulty in adapting to the demands of the informal sector, as their expectations and aspirations frequently conflict with the reality of life in the sector. The 1991 IS survey indicated that secondary school graduates constituted only 1% of the total work-force. However, as the structural reforms and retrenchment exercises continue to curtail formal sector employment, this figure will increase significantly.

3.5 Training provision

Provision may be classified into two types, regulated and non-regulated. Regulated provision is characterised by a structured programme of vocational and associated educational studies undertaken in an approved centre lasting between one and two years. At the end of the course students will graduate with a formal qualification. In contrast, unregulated training is totally work based, *ad hoc* in terms of structure, content and duration and no obligation is placed on the trainee to attain recognised qualifications.

The regulated training providers are; government, church and privately operated Vocational Training Centres (VTC's), Folk Development Colleges (FDC's) and Post Primary Training Centres (PPTC's). However, there are significant differences which are ideological and cultural in origin between these groups. The VTC's were established to provide skilled labour for formal sector industries, while the FDC's and PPTC's were introduced to enhance rural

skills and combat urban migration. In terms of perceived status, parents and young people consider the VTC's to be the most prestigious, for not only, are they wage-labour orientated, but also the training is directed towards trainees acquiring Trade Test Grade III, a nationally recognised qualification. As a consequence, there is strong competition for places and entrance tests are employed as the principal selection mechanism. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the PPTC's lack public credibility due to a number of factors, not least the *charter effect*, as the PPTC training certificate lacks credence and the system is therefore under-subscribed.

There are four groups of non-regulated training providers; governmental and non governmental organisations (NGO's), small scale enterprises (including family subsistence groups) and Nguvu kazi activities. Training is essentially, learning by doing in the market-place. Entry is through a number of routes; payment of training fee's to the NGO or owner, apprenticed to a relative or the friends of relatives through the extended family system and by association '*saidia fundi*' helping the artisan. The final method is through co-operative means such as Nguvu kazi (self-help) groups who apply to the local authorities for land and to agencies such as the ILO or, Directorate of Youth for development funds and training to enable them to be self-reliant.

3.5.1 Characteristics of provision

The discussion of training provision has so far been relatively general, differences having been discussed at the macro level, but what is important is to be able to compare training at the micro level to better understand its value, in relation to the trainee's capacity to operate effectively in the informal sector. The important distinction to make at this stage, is that the principal objective of regulated providers is to train young people for future participation in the workplace. This is not the case with the majority of non-regulated providers whose principal concern is production, and therefore training is perceived as an aspect of production.

The following is therefore a comparison of some of the key differences between regulated and non-regulated training that have emerged from the study. The comments are not to be interpreted as definitive, but as generalisations representing two ends of a continuum, as the two classifications are very broad and within each there are significant differences in provision.

	Regulated Training	**Non-regulated Training**
Entry requirements	Defined by a governing body in terms of qualifications and or, entrance examinations.	Little or no emphasis is placed on academic qualifications.
Fees	All providers charge a fee, the rate is dependant on the type of institution. The highest being the VTC's.	Little commonality among the providers. Some trades, such as motor mechanics charged a levy of between 2,000 and 5,000T/sh to cover the lost or stolen tools.
Gender policy	Although no formal policies are in place, all the providers had adopted procedures to encourage greater female participation.	Dominated by male trainees, most of the providers visited operate a policy of discrimination against female applicants.

Curriculum	The duration, syllabus, subjects, content, weightings and methods of assessment are all prescribed by a governing body	In nearly all the institutions visited the curriculum was not devised in advance but was ad hoc dependent on the work-in-progress. Similarly the duration of training was not related to any formal policy but was flexible, dependent on the trainees performance and market forces.
	The curriculum is a mix of academic and vocational studies, devised to promote both personal and professional development.	The curriculum is vocationally/ production orientated that emphasising the development of practical knowledge and skills. Theoretical knowledge about materials, their properties and processes was generally ignored.
Training environment	Training and instruction is undertaken in a range of specialist areas; classrooms, laboratories and workshops. Some providers also have a library.	All training and instruction is carried out in the work place, frequently as part of the production process.
	In the government and church VTC's the fabric of the buildings was very good and the range and quality of plant and equipment very impressive. In terms of the other institutions visited, provision varied from very good to abysmal.	In terms of the fabric of the building and the range of plant and equipment observed, provision (taking into account the specialist nature of the enterprises visited) varied from very good to abysmal.
Teachers/ instructors	All staff were qualified, possessing either Trade Test certificates or, were qualified teachers certificates /diplomas.	With the exception of some NGO's, trainers generally had no formal qualifications.
Pedagogy	The emphasis was on leading trainees through a series of cook-book exercises that afforded the trainee little opportunity for creative or, problem solving activity. Great emphasis was placed on the correct selection and safe use of materials and tools.	Training was incorporated in the process of production. What was learned depended on the work-in-progress and the capability of the trainee. The acquisition of practical knowledge and skills was solely through learning-by-doing. The trainee would be shown how to complete a task, observed by the artisan /instructor. Little or no emphasis was placed on safety i.e. on the creation of a safe working environment, or on personal safety.

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	Little difference was observed in classroom interactions and relationships to those observed in school classrooms.	The relationship was generally found to be one of master and men rather than teacher and pupil.
	The use of a wide diversity of educational resources (models, diagrams etc) to assist in the learning process was promoted in institutions equipped with them.	Little or no recourse was made to books, models or other educational resources. In general most of what was taught was based on tacit knowledge.
Monitoring and assessing a trainees progress	All providers employ a system of theoretical and practical tests as the principal criteria for monitoring and assessing trainee progress and is also used as the method for more formal assessment and accreditation, Trade Test grade III and above.	Written records of a trainees performance were considered to have little value by the majority of the providers surveyed. Progress and capability were, to a greater or lesser extent determined by the nature of the enterprise and the level of instruction necessary to work unsupervised. In addition little or no emphasis, or value was placed on trainees gaining formal certification, e.g. Trade Test grade III or above.
Preparation for wage/self employment	None of the providers had forged meaningful links with local employers in either the formal or informal sectors. The majority of trainees had no opportunity to gain work experience prior to starting their in-plant training. Similarly, once a trainee had left the training provider no mechanisms existed to monitor the trainees in-plant training.	There was overwhelming support for the notion that employment training provided by small enterprises and the like, was more appropriate to the future needs of the trainees. IS trainers were highly critical of the sterile environment and ethos of VTC's. Many expressed the view that they would not consider employing VTC trained journeymen as they lacked '***the knack***', relying too much on procedural correctness and the book.

A critique of all the regulated training providers will be presented in chapter 6 in the form of a series of case studies. What is worth noting at this stage is that although there are significant differences between regulated and non-regulated provision and within the providers in each category, there is currently one factor that permeates virtually all training provision, an almost total lack of recognition of the need to provide trainees with enterprise/innovation skills. In general terms, regulated training emphasises the development of knowledge and skills through *procedural correctness*, in contrast to non-regulated training where production, *problem solving and getting the job done* are stressed. Neither group places any importance on providing instruction in such aspects as, calculating the cost of a job, simple book keeping or methods of identifying possible markets.

3.6 The problems of Youth

Youths (15 - 30 year olds) represent the largest group in the population. The 1988 census estimated that there were just under 11.5 million youths which represented 46% of the total able bodied population. This percentage was expected to increase in the foreseeable future due to increasing birth rates.

The most pressing social problems currently facing Tanzanian youth are teenage pregnancies and school drop-outs, a breakdown in the traditional family group and the role of elders and the principal socialising agents, smoking and drinking and finally, potentially the most problematic, dependency and unemployment.

According to Malekela (1991), youth unemployment can be classified into two groups; primary school leavers not selected for secondary school education and secondary school leavers (Form IV and VI) who are unable to gain employment in the formal sector. The root cause of youth unemployment may be attributable to a combination of factors, the inability of the economy to absorb the rapid growth in population, a mis-match of skills, inappropriate technologies and a general failure of economic programmes to hone in on those activities with the greatest potential for creating employment.

Improved access to education has had a profound influence on the aspirations and expectations of the young and was one of the principal factors that influenced the rise in urban migration. Ishumi, et al (1985), studying the problems encountered by the youth identified four key areas; primary education was inadequate both qualitatively (in what was taught) and quantitatively (the inability to progress to secondary education), the aspiration and expectations of consumers were unachievable (secondary education, post-primary training followed by wage employment), disillusionment about their future employment opportunities (agriculture, petty business, livestock rearing) and finally, a lack of collateral (useful knowledge and skills, capital, tools or land). Ishumi also drew attention to the problems associated with youths living with their parents and the potential for some young people to resort to acts of hooliganism and banditry.

Over the years the government has been concerned about the socio-economic effects of migration, but the problem of urban migration needs to be placed in context, for the 1988 population census found that 81.2% of the youth still lived with their parents in towns or villages. The corollary is 2.1 million young people were fending for themselves. This implied that measures implemented over the years by central government to suppress migration had failed. However Malekela (1991), considers that many of these people stayed with relatives or friends in urban areas looking for job opportunities as '*hanging around in town seems to be the best option*' in the eyes of many people to gain employment.

3.6.1 Gender issues

Two issues dominate the debate, discrimination (in education and employment) and pregnancy, '*... customary law and traditional values continue to contribute to an environment which perpetuates inequality between men and women in almost all fields of life. Government efforts to raise the status of women have faced resistance. The Potential for fuller involvement and participation of women in national economic development does exist but as a human resource, remains to be developed*' (URT 1988). There is evidence to support the notion that positive discrimination in favour of women has been a recently introduced in the civil service and parastatals, as many of the senior administrators interviewed in the course

of this study were women. However, in education, training and informal sector employment participation is dominated by men (Mbilinyi 1990).

Many of the factors associated with gender issues in education have been discussed earlier in this chapter including unplanned pregnancies, but the drop-out among girls is increasing due to pregnancies and it is important to pause and consider the implications for the young girl. When a girl is found to be pregnant she is effectively expelled from school and for many education ceases as it is very difficult for the girl to return after the birth. Data supplied by the Directorate of Youth suggest that pregnancy among school girls is more common in rural than urban areas. More disturbingly, a report on rural primary schools implied that impregnation of young girls by teachers was a common occurrence (TADREG 1993).

The problem (according to an Officer in the Directorate of Youth) appears to be that the majority of girls living in the rural areas do not adhere to any family planning principles and that endangers their own life and that of the child. Girls learn more about child-bearing and child care, but not enough about family planning.

Post primary education, discrimination against women in entering vocational training is also apparent, as illustrated by the results of an NVTD 1991/93 survey. This found that out of a total of 400 girls who applied for placement at NVTD only 30% (121) were successful, compared to 95% boys (653). Fears about girls falling pregnant was considered to be the most plausible explanation. This negative attitude towards women is best described as '*societal attitudes are not yet tuned to craftswomen in factories*' (URT 1988).

3.6.2 Employment and unemployment

Unemployment represents one of the country's major socio-economic problems, and concerns have been expressed about the consequences of idle hands, but the current training capacity is incapable of satisfying consumer demand. In addition initiatives such as Nguvu kazi (1983) (introduced to stem urban migration) and current projects funded by the ILO, the Directorate of Youth and other NGO's aimed at promoting self-employment among youth groups have made little impact in reducing the numbers of unemployed young people.

3.7 A survey of youth aspirations, expectations and opinions

To establish the current perceptions that the youth hold on matters such as education, training, current employment and future needs, a small survey was carried out in 5 different regions encompassing both the rural and urban areas of Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Dodoma, Coast and Morogoro.

The techniques used were, a random sampling approach coupled with a structured interview based on a questionnaire, conducted in Kiswahili. In selecting both primary school pupils and informal sector youths, some were picked from streets, while others were found at their place of work. Some of the youths approached refused to participate without giving a reason, while others consented to answering selected questions. As a result, the sample consists of 141 youths comprising 67 primary school pupils (34 males (52%) and 31 females (48%) and 74 street youth (41 male (55.4%) and 33 female (44.6%).

Two separate questionnaires were employed although there were a number of questions common to both groups. Common questions focused on the respondents primary school

experiences, future aspirations and work experience. Questions that were aimed specifically at the street youth examined their path towards that sector, employment trends and finally their future needs.

3.7.1 Primary pupils

The respondents were aged between 9 and 17 years of age, the average being 14 years for both gender. Academically they spanned Std III to VII and in terms of gender, their profiles were very similar.

3.7.1.2 Primary education

Much has been written about the problems associated with primary education from an academic perspective. The object of this small survey was to find out from the consumers what they thought of school, how well it prepared them for the future, what they aspired towards and finally how they thought provision might be improved.

When asked which subjects they enjoyed most, 93% of male and 85% of female respondents opted hierarchically for, Mathematics, English, Kiswahili and Science. However, in response to the question which subjects do you think will help you get a job, a significantly different picture emerged that highlighted gender preferences. Over 90% of males elected Mathematics, English, Science, and Kiswahili, while a similar proportion of females expressed clear preference for English and Mathematics followed by and Science, and Kiswahili equally weighted.

The final question focused on improving the quality of primary education but only one person expressed a comment, '*improve the quality of teachers*'. Their reticence might have been due to fears that the interviewer was some form of MEC informant and that any criticism of the system, may in some way jeopardise their chances of a place at secondary school, but this is just conjecture. Another, more plausible reason was that unlike the street youth, they had no outside experience to base their judgements on.

3.7.1.3 Aspirations and reality

Asked what they wanted to do when they completed Std VII, 85% of males and 90% of females wanted to go to secondary school. Less than 10% of males wanted to enter into apprenticeship, *'that is our tradition, as every one at our home is a craftsman-fundi, grandfather, cousin brother ...'*. Under 3% of both gender mentioned petty business. When requested to make a realistic appraisal of what they could expect to do after completing Std VII, 50% of males and 45% of females still maintained that they would progress to secondary school. The remainder of respondents failed to answer this question. When pressed for an answer the young people expressed a reticence to admit to the reality of the situation, that they had little prospects of attaining their goals.

When asked if they considered that primary education prepared them for work on a five point scale from not at all to very well, over 55% of respondents agreed with the statements, not at all, or very little. However, a significant proportion of pupils (27% of males and 29% of females) did not provide an answer. Of those that thought otherwise, the principal justification was in equipping them with the 3R's, for many pupils identified the importance of communication skills and the need to learn Kiswahili, the lingua-franca.

3.7.1.4 Employment

Child employment to supplement the family income is a recurrent theme in the literature and the respondents were asked, if in addition to attending school were they also participating in either paid or unpaid labour. Only 10% of males and 13% of females admitted to working and a further 5% declined to answer.

3.7.2 Street youth

The profile of this sample revealed that 54% of both genders was aged between 16 and 20 years of age. About 10% was aged 10-15 years and only one male was under 10 years of age.

The informal sector operators were mainly involved in artisan jobs (car mechanics and welding) and petty business. The petty businesses involved selling foodstuffs, used clothes, art/craft goods, '*mama ntilie*', tie and dye, hairdressing, tailoring, shoe shining and car wash. When asked how well their businesses were doing most said not very well. A few served as bar/hotel attendants and shopkeepers. Two reasons were cited for working in the sector, failure to progress to secondary education and economic hardship. Unemployment pushed a good number of youths into small business enterprise with a capital less than 2,000T/sh selling nuts and sweets. These vendors walked a long distance in a day as they move from one bar to another and sleep very late.

3.7.2.1 Reasons for migrating

The majority of males (75%) and nearly 60% of females had migrated from up-country regions to DSM in search of work. (Mtwara, Rukwa, Mbeya, Iringa, Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Dodoma, Coast, Morogoro, Songea, Mara, Mwanza, Tabora, Singida, Kagera and many other places - but not from Kigona or Zanzibar). Of the remainder the trend was that they moved from district to district (rural to urban) within the same region. The majority of respondents had lived in the locale for 3 years, many with extended family or '*friends*' and carried out a range of petty businesses and manufacturing activities.

Three principal reasons were cited by respondents as to why they left their rural homes for the city, seeking work, their parents/relatives had moved, or an unfavourable home environment. The reasons given by those who had migrated from up-country reveal significant gender differences. Nearly 80% of males were employment motivated compared to less than 50 % of females. Family movement suggested no great disparity (19% males to 26% females) but over 25% of female respondents attributed their move to an unfavourable home environment compared to only 3% of males. Pregnancy, child abuse and taken as house girls figured prominently in their replies.

Pregnancy cases are not a new experience. Mbillinyi (1990) has urged the MEC to address the issue of pregnancy at primary school level. In the majority of cases ignorance is the principal factor yet the treatment they get from the school and sometimes the parents does not acknowledge this. For example, a girl from the Coast region who dropped out of Std VI (age 15) had this bitter experience to narrate seven years later (1995, aged 22). '*I got pregnant and expelled from school. My father expelled me from home and I had to come to DSM to the boy involved. The boy expelled me after the child's death. Now I am living with my friends.*' This girl who is now a bar attendant was bitterly expressing her concern that she could not go home to her parents in fear of her father's ill treatment of her. It is worth noting that when a female describes her employment as '*working in a bar*' this often denotes that she also operates as a prostitute.

Another girl initially began by saying that she was forced to drop out of Std V in Singida to travel to Dar es Salaam to serve as a house girl, *'I was brought to come and do house work'*. and subsequently, *'expelled by the one who took me from home, and I am now living with friends'*. The girl, who was now selling local brew in one of the DSM local pubs in Manzese, then went on to say that, *'I was big and we were getting caned as kids in the school, therefore I left'*. This quotation clearly illustrates two important reasons why she ended up working in the informal sector, the first was the alleged physical abuse from teachers followed by her expulsion as a house girl that resulted in her loitering, eventually resorting to prostitution. It also calls into question the responsibilities of teachers (the use of corporal punishment was noted in the TADREG 1993 study) and those who employ house girls.

A few respondents talked about running away from forced marriages or, parental remarriage creating an atmosphere where they were forced to leave.

3.7.2.2 Education

Over 80% of the sample had completed Std VII (88% of males and 76% females), but only one (female) had completed Form IV. Of those who had dropped-out of school (14% overall), females dominated by a factor of 3 : 1.

Asked why they dropped out, many respondents gave answers similar to those they had given for leaving home, but a number mentioned family poverty and the need to assist in income generation activities. One respondent explained that he was forced to leave school at Std IV and joined his mother in selling food in a ghetto, *'Mama ntilie at ferry station Dar es Salaam'*. A few respondents (all males) left to be apprenticed to parents/family. One man told of being convinced by his father to abscond from education so as to assist him in his work as a mason. *'My parents shifted from Kilwa (rural) to town and they did not register me to any school. I had completed Std I only by 1988'*. Now aged 26, the man expressed very negative feelings about this, not so much as a result of missing school but, of naiveté, as most of the money he earned while working for his father was taken by him. Consequently, he had run away and worked alone, when he felt he was competent enough.

The respondents were asked to comment about their primary school experiences, in particular what subjects they considered to be most useful in gaining employment, which subjects they enjoyed and finally whether their primary school education prepared them to get a job.

Asked about the subjects they considered most useful almost all respondents said Mathematics (48%), English (27%), Kiswahili (15%) and Science (11%). Those offering other subjects amounted to less than 1% of the total. Analysed by gender, patterns of preference appear not uncommonly found in developed countries. Mathematics was ranked first by boys (44%) compared to the girls 24% who considered Kiswahili more important (33%) as against only 21% for boys. The responses of both gender were similar for English and Science.

Further questioning revealed that Mathematics and English figure prominently in the aspirations of these youths. *'teachers were telling us that those were important subjects'*, *'Maths is the basis for life and many things'*, *'all secondary subjects are taught in English'* and *'English, in case I travel to Mombassa and there are Wazungu around whom I fail to communicate to'*. In essence then, the quotations suggest that primary school education reinforces two concepts; that Mathematics and English are essential for success at secondary

school level and secondly that Mathematics and English are also likely to be essential in future life, in work situations and as one travels from one local language district to another.

In the responses about the subjects they found most enjoyable, respondents cast their net wider and suggested nine subjects, Mathematics (32%), Kiswahili (24%), English (18%), and Science (10%) with the others accounting for 16%. By gender the preferences noted for Mathematics, Kiswahili, English, and Science mirror those identified above. It is only when the other subjects are considered that 24% of the girls opt for the other subjects compared to only 12% of boys. Civics in particular is popular amongst the girls (10%).

On the basis of these results, respondents attributed a low ranking to science and this is of obvious concern. Why is Kiswahili considered higher than Science? Many responses to the question '*Why did you enjoy this subject, (i.e. Kiswahili)?*' were linked with good teaching or the pupil's own competence. Conversely, this would suggest that teaching in Science may not be as good and that pupils' understanding was deficient, compared to Kiswahili. Extending this further, teachers may not have put strong enough emphasis on the usefulness of Science for future life and work. The study indicates that teacher competence in the area of Science may be inadequate, and this has implications for motivation and attitudes of pupils that may have lifelong consequences. The respondents appear to have very low opinion about the value of Science but as operators in the informal sector, primary VII leavers need to re-orient their perception, for Mathematics is vital, but Science is also essential for survival and innovation.

Only a small percentage of respondents (20% of males and 12% of females) said that they had worked while still attending school. After school was the most common time either for their parents/extended family or themselves. In gender terms females generally helped their mothers selling '*mandazi*' (a type of bun), while the males where equally divided between family and self. Information about their method of payment and earnings was withheld by most respondents although those that did consent to reveal these things said *'by-the-hour'*, or '*until they had finished*' and quoted wages between 1,000 and 5,000 T/sh per day (depending on the nature of the work). Indications of what the money was used for suggested a mix of family support, clothing and educational materials. Only one female mentioned luxury goods, *'watching videos'*.

When asked if they considered that going to school had helped them get a job only 37% of males and 42% of females said yes. Their overriding reason was utilitarian, it had enabled them to, *'attend a 2 years course in Mbulu FDC where I obtained Trade Test Grade III'*, or gain employment, '*when I started working in this pub, I was asked to produce my std vii leaving certificate, of which if I did not have I would have missed the job'*. In contrast those people who thought that going to school had not helped them get a job reflected how aggrieved many were at not being able to progress to secondary education, '*the level of education offered is too little to enable one to work in industry or office'*, while another lamented that '*I had 1 year of hard time at home without any job. Primary seven education is not needed any where, even the drivers this days are Form IV leavers, what can you talk about class seven leavers!*'.

The final question asked them to comment on ways of improving primary education to better equip them when seeking employment. A wide range of answers were received that focused on, the training of teachers, improving the supply and quality of resources, raising the age or enrolment and extending the length of the primary phase to the introduction of technical primary schools. As one might expect, males opted for technical schools (35%) although this

did have support from 20% of the female respondents. *'Teaching should cut across different skills; carpentry, fishing and masonry. Teachers should stop labouring us in cashewnut /coconut farms as this does not teach work skills after school'* declared one youth, while a female considered that, *'may be we could do carpentry because you make and sell things, women these days do all types of jobs'*. The most popular suggestion of the females and the second choice of the male respondents (both about 24%) was to improve the supply and quality of resources.

The need to re-educate teachers (and administrators) was clearly stated by two females who thought that, *'Parents should be involved in their children's education'* and *'educate their children that primary education is not focusing on going to secondary school only'*, while *'teachers should avoid pushing into the pupils the idea that they should work hard so that many pass to go to secondary education. Instead they should encourage them to plan strategies for survival after finishing Class VII'*.

3.7.2.3 Aspirations vs reality

Most of the respondents (70% males and 80% females) considered that while at school their principal aim was to gain a place at secondary school. Of these, over 70% of males and 80% of females equated this with formal sector employment. Only 15% of males and 7% of females considered going straight into an apprenticeship. The remainder focused on operating petty businesses.

In comparison to their aspirations the reality is that 63% of males and 5% of females describe themselves as artisans, while 90% of females are engaged in petty business (food vending) and bar work. There appeared to be no clear cut reason why the aspirations of the respondents had not been fulfilled. Comments from both genders were similar, ranging from failure to get into secondary school or vocational training either due to academic attainment or poverty, or opportunities were limited, to liking the work. The stark reality of life is encapsulated in the comments of one youth who welded radiators for automobiles, *'there is very little opportunity for me to join secondary school because my brother whom I depend on to get me even a chance in the VTC was expelled from work due to retrenchment'*. Money or the scarcity of it, is also cited as the major justification for pursuing their current job.

Self-employment accounts for 50% of the female respondents compared to only 16% of males. However, males were found to be more likely to be employed by the parents or extended family (40% compared to only 11% of females). A number of people (16% males and 7% females) said that they worked for no-one which meant that they were *Saidia fundi*, i.e. assisting in the hope of payment and or future employment.

3.7.2.4 Sources of capital

Those who were self-employed had gained the venture capital by one of three methods; labouring and saving, a loan, either financial or more commonly consumable goods for resale and thirdly, by support from the immediate or extended family. Male respondents favoured the first two options, while females expressed an equal preference for the second and third methods. One youth described in detail the process by which he and two friends gained capital, *'we collected waste metal/scrap to start with in making charcoal stoves. Later, we managed to sell our first products and shifted to buying good metal sheets from which we made better products'*. Another, respondent involved in selling used clothes said *'we took the clothes on loan, sold them and paid back the loan'*.

3.7.2.5 Training

One of the crucial questions is how informal sector operators acquire their knowledge and skills? The survey suggests 6 possible methods; (watching others, trial and error, parents or other family members, employer, apprenticeship, self-taught) but in practice many people indicated that they had used a combination of these. Among the males watching others and apprenticeship accounted for 50% of responses, while watching others and self-taught represented 60% of female responses. Instruction by parents and other family members represented about 20% for both genders.

3.7.2.6 Working conditions

Youths engaged in informal sector activities work on average 6 or 7 days a week and between 7 and 10 hours a day and have spent less than two years doing their present job. About equal numbers of males work 6 or 7 days, while 52% of females work the full 7 days. However some females (13%) only work 5 days. In terms of hours 20% of males and 35% of females said that they worked over 10 hours a day, although 27% of females also indicated that they worked 5-6 hours a day. As far as length of service can be measured there was little gender difference, with over 65% of respondents having served less than two years in their present job.

3.7.2.7 Future needs

The young people were asked what they thought they would be doing in 3 years time. The answers ranged from don't know to very precise ideas. Over 50% of males (the artisans) thought they would be doing the same, but expanded, 15% didn't know and the remainder involved attempting to gain formal sector employment. In contrast only 35% of female respondents shared the same, but expanded ideal, and 35% considered that they would have changed to a different business. Far fewer females didn't know (5%), while the remainder looked towards the formal sector for employment.

When asked what they would need to assist them fulfil the goals identified above, 4 factors were identified; more education, specific technical education/training, money and premises/ tools. Money was judged to be the principal requisite by 51% of males and 64% of females. Education and technical training was considered necessary only by the male respondents and accounted for 13% of responses. In gender terms the need for premises and equipment was about equal at 36%.

Pressed on the desire for money few could give sound reasons for their answer, i.e. as part of a future strategy for development. Similarly the few who cited more education did so without thought. This was not the case when people talked of training or premises, here many respondents justified their claims with rational arguments that were linked to improvements in the quality of service or provision they provided. One youth's comments succinctly describe this, *'I need some skill training, Mathematics and English and that Maths helps me in map reading especially when building modern houses and also some of my customers do harass me by speaking English'*.

Other typical responses were; '*without training, one cannot practice skill on trial and error*', '*commercial education was important to avoid loss during transactions of buying and selling*'. Respondents from this group appeared to acknowledge that running an enterprise needs more than just the capital to set it up. Experience had taught them that in order to maximise their profits or develop, entrepreneurial skills/education was necessary.

The need for premises and tools was identified by many as a contributory factor to the effectiveness of their business. Issues of health and hygiene were raised by some of the female food vendors. One female wanted money to buy material and modify her working area *'as every customer who comes tells me that the shelter is dirty, the table is dirty'* (her premises lacked a roof). Another said, *'I am currently doing my business in a corridor where there is a lot of disturbance, children play in the ..., the Health Officer is on my neck every time.'*

3.8 Issues raised from the survey results

The survey although carried out with two different target groups highlighted a number of common themes; an emphasis on only four primary school subjects, the overwhelming demand for secondary education and the belief that this would enable them to gain employment in the formal sector. Secondary education is perceived as the panacea for the vast majority of respondents, who are astutely aware that structural adjustment and retrenchment has further fuelled the diploma disease. Increasingly the elite ('O' and 'A' level leavers) are applying for employment and training once the domain of the Std VII leaver, e.g. NVTC acknowledge that increasing numbers of candidates for VTC training are from secondary education.

The prominence given to English by respondents reinforces this notion, for although Kiswahili is the lingua-franca, English is the language of the formal sector employer and employee.

Other related issues are the function of primary education and the influence of teachers and parents. Nyerere considered that primary education was all that was required for the majority of young people to become useful productive members of society. However, a review of the literature revealed that although he considered the function of primary education was preparation for the world of work, the curriculum and the aspirations and expectations of many teachers and parents have not reflected this ideal. This survey supports this view, but the question remains, should the curriculum and these long held beliefs be challenged or encouraged? Would universal secondary education benefit pupils by equipping them better for employment or would it exacerbate the diploma disease? Based on the evidence of this study this would only lead to greater dissatisfaction among the youth as the entry requirements would be raised to compensate. The feasible solution is to realign the curriculum to prepare pupils for a working life in the informal sector. A pragmatic curriculum where the content addresses the needs of the sector.

Unrealistic aspirations of gaining a secondary school place prejudices their perceptions of the informal sector and reinforces the stigma of 'failure' on the part of those unable to progress. *'My father would harass me all the time saying, look at her, what do you think you can do in this world after failing primary VII exam*?' Persecution and stigma resulted in this respondent leaving home and migrating to DSM. This apparent failure coupled with their attitudes towards employment in the informal sector appears to exert a significant influence on the young persons perception of self-worth, as employment in this sector is accorded little esteem. There is an urgent need to educate parents and teachers so that they acknowledge the reality of the current situation in Tanzania. To quote the final part of the above respondents comments, *'parents should be incorporated in educating their children that the objective of primary education is not only focused to secondary school'*

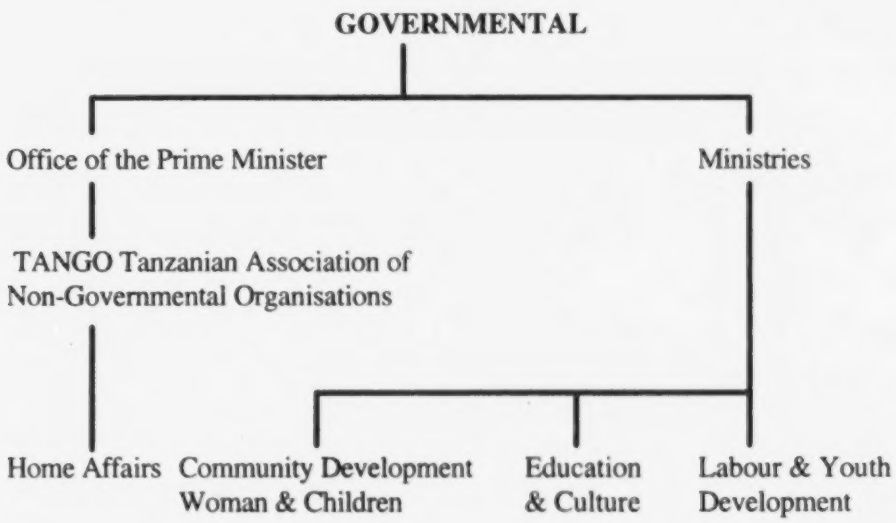
4. Mapping the Provision of Vocational Training & Assistance to the Youth

Since Independence a number of government Ministries, agencies, international donors and NGO's (both local and international) have assisted in the training of the youth. Provision has taken a number of forms, financial and technical aid to facilitate training, the provision of practical training, or by providing funds to assist youth groups start their own businesses to mention a few examples. However, in reviewing the literature what becomes apparent is that studies and reports have tended to focus on the work of that particular organisation. Also, after precursory discussions with officials from a number of Ministries, it became apparent that there was a need to clearly define the key participants and their activities so that future planning might be more effective.

In attempting to establish *who-does-what*, Ministries, agencies and organisations were classified as either governmental or non-governmental. This classification was necessary to illustrate the complex interrelationship which was found to exist between the various institutions. However, within these two classifications there were found to be varying numbers of institutions engaged in supporting the training of the youth and therefore, within each it became necessary to further sub-divide them.

4.1 Governmental provision

Governmental institutions include the Office of the Prime Minister and First Vice-President and four separate Ministries; Home Affairs, Labour and Youth Development, Education and Culture and finally, Community Development Women and Children.

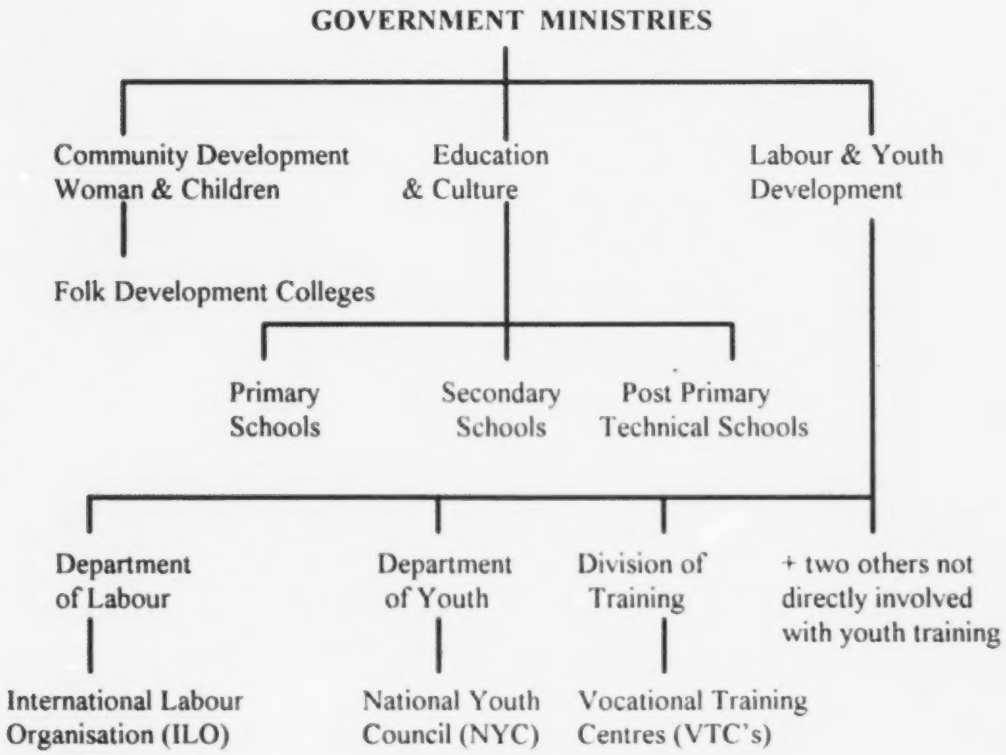


The Office of the Prime Minister was instrumental in the defining the content of the Human Resource Deployment Act (1983). This led to the creation of *Nguvu kazi* self-employed programmes that were originally implemented by the Ministry of Local Government and

Regional Administrators. The Office of the Prime Minister sees its role as overseeing the operations of all the other government Ministries and therefore does not have a specific policy towards the youth.

However, concerned at the growing number of local NGO's operating in the county, the Office carried out an audit of NGO's in 1992 and compiled a directory. This enabled the government to quantify NGO activities but, did not classify their activities. Since then the Office has established the Tanzania Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (TANGO) to formally register all NGO's. This has caused concern among local NGO's that by setting up this administrative body, the government were attempting to monitor and control their activities. This is denied, by the government who claim that their intention is to strengthen the relationship between the NGO's and themselves and therefore be in a better position to assist them. '*With proper arrangements the government could entrust them with some of its responsibilities which are rather too many for it*' was how a senior administrator in the Office justified the need for TANGO.

The Prime Ministers Office still maintains a responsibility for the activities of international donors and liaises directly with the Treasury and Ministry of Home Affairs on their behalf.



The Ministries of, Community Development Women and Children, Education and Culture and Labour and Youth Development each have portfolio's that include the provision of different types of youth training and will be considered in depth as case studies in chapter 6.

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The Ministry of Community Development Women and Children (formerly the Ministry of Local Government, Community Development, Co-operatives and Marketing) has since 1990 been responsible for organising and co-ordinating the activities of Folk Development Colleges (FDC's), prior to this they had been the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Culture. They were originally perceived as institutions for training rural people for useful service to their communities, to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of productive labour and in so doing improve the quality of life for all. Introduced in 1975, by 1992 there were 52 FDC's operating on the mainland, but none on Zanzibar and government figures indicate that just under 130 thousand people have received training, of which 63.5% (about 82,500) were male and 36.5% (47,400) female. A range of training programmes are offered through short and long courses, including the NVTD Trade Test grade III. Current capacity is estimated to be 3,600 and enrolment is over 70% (2,600) with a drop-out rate of about 15% (UTR/MLYD 1993). However, there are current moves towards decentralisation of the FDC's.

FDC's are participating in a project called '*Skills development for Self-Reliance*' a programme conducted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in co-operation with the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development and the Ministry of Education and Culture. The aim of the project is to provide unemployed youths with vocational skills to assist them gain employment. The project is based on a tightly structured programme which begins with an assessment of needs at village level, provides both vocational and business training , assists trainees to gain venture capital and monitors the progress of the youths during the first years of business.

The Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for primary and secondary education and the management of Post Primary Technical Centres (PPTC's). The current school population is estimated to be just over 5.1 million, comprised of, about 4.95 million primary pupils and around 170 thousand secondary students. About 85% of primary pupils fail to gain a place at secondary school. Of those that do over half will attend a private (55%) rather than state (45%) secondary school (MEC/MSTHE (1993). Included in the secondary enrolment figures are those for the diversified technical schools that have a combined capacity of just under 3,600 and operate at about 84% with a drop-out rate of less than 15% (UTR/MLYD 1993).

Post Primary Technical Schools (PPTC's) are administered by the Ministry but not funded by them. Conflict over financial responsibility for PPTC's between local and central government has resulted in these institutions operating at about 30% of their intended capacity. The training is for two years in a range of skills (tinsmithy, carpentry etc) with the aim of equipping the trainees with the skills necessary for self-employment. Total capacity is estimated to be 11,000 but enrolment is less than half of this (47%) and the drop-out rate is over 30% (UTR/MLYD 1993).

The Ministry of Labour and Youth Development has a broad portfolio which encompasses five departments, three of which are directly concerned with vocational training and supporting the activities of the youth.

The Division of Training administers and co-ordinates the activities of the nineteen government run Vocational Training Centres (VTC's) and is responsible for registering and inspecting all other training institutions in the country. It is also responsible for administering and assessing the National Trade Tests grades III, II and I. Recently a Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA) was established as an autonomous government agency to

develop and co-ordinate training within the country both at national and regional levels. Current policy is based on three tenets, decentralisation through the creation of regional boards, the introduction of a training levy payable by all employers with four or more employees and thirdly, the need to adapt VTC's to meet demand driven needs of their locale.

The are currently 19 VTC's that provide training in 34 different trades as the first stage of artisan training. Traditionally, training was based on supply side policies and trainees were placed in formal industries for their in-plant training and later gained full employment in this sector. Retrenchment and the effects of market forces are forcing VTC's to re-orientate and adapt to preparing increasing numbers of their trainees for informal sector employment. Current capacity is just under 3,000 but corporately the system enrols slightly more than this figure, while the drop-out rate is about 25% of this total.

In addition to providing initial training VTC's also operate evening classes to enable artisans to study for the more advanced Trade Tests II and I. The Morogoro Vocational Teachers Training College (MVTTC) prepares qualified artisans for employment as VTC, and NGO trade instructors through a two-year programme and also offers a range of short courses to cater for the needs of formal sector employees (e.g. supervisory courses). The future development plans for the MVTTC include the introduction of a Masters distance learning programme.

The Department of Youth portfolio is to co-ordinate and encourage all youth activities and plans for training in Tanzania. Through the National Youth Council (NYC) the department co-ordinates its activities with both local and international NGO's. the Centre for Informal Sector Promotion (CISP), Association of Tanzanian Employers and the Trade Unions (ATET), Merino Sisters (Iringa), Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP), OXFAM and the United Nations Volunteers (UNV).

In practical terms the Department organises and manages (and in some cases funds) 1,545 youth groups (just over 21,000 people) situated throughout the mainland that are engaged in activities ranging from animal husbandry, fishing, tinsmithy carpentry etc. When loans are granted (the maximum amount is 200,000T/sh either to a group or an individual) commercial interest rates of 27.5% for co-operative or group projects and 31% for individuals are charged (1994). However, individuals are preferred as, *'they have been found to be better able to manage loans than groups'* recounted an official. The recovery period on loans is dependant on the nature of the enterprise; agricultural loans must be repaid after two seasons, tailoring, carpentry and similar projects after three years and animal husbandry (usually dairy farming) after five years. There are however proposal to change both the maximum size of loan and the recovery period. The principal difficulties experienced by the Department excluding funds is a lack of accurate information about youth activities per se.

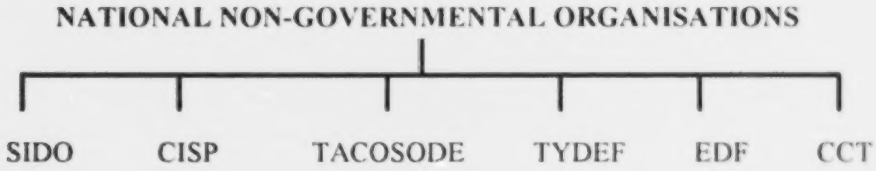
The Department of Labour also organises and trains small youth groups through the activities of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), (funded by UNDP). Through the Rural Youth Training and Employment Project (RYTE) the ILO are supporting youths who are developing income-generating projects as a means of becoming self-employed. The youth receive both financial (similar to above) and technical training to prepare them for self-employment and once operating, are monitored during the early stages to support their development. The training lasts about 3 months and includes both technical skills, (e.g. carpentry, tailoring etc.)

and business education, (e.g. book-keeping, marketing and project monitoring). The training has been conducted at, FDC's, VTC's, or on-the-job depending on the nature of the project.

So far about 530 young (55% males and 45% females) people have received assistance from 15 mainland regions and Zanzibar. The ILO are also active in providing the training for trainers in FDC's. ILO activities operate independent of all other training agencies in Tanzania.

4.2 Non-governmental organisations (NGO's)

The Office of the Prime Minister classifies NGO's into local and international Non-governmental organisations. This will be adopted in the following outline of provision.



Among the organisations that were consulted many were not directly involved in training, however they do provide access to expertise, funding for enterprises or acted as a go-between for international donor agencies.

SIDO the Small Industries Development Organisation is responsible for the creation and co-ordination of small industrial plants throughout the country. It also acts in an advisory capacity to the Planning Commission on long-term industrial strategies. SIDO centres act as nuclei for training and the production of goods for local consumption. With the trend towards private enterprise it is increasingly attempting to market its consultancy services to small and medium sized formal sector companies. The types of service offered by SIDO are indicated below.

Short courses, are available for which the entrepreneur has to fund unless somebody else is financing it on his/her behalf. SIDO does not finance any courses, but gives advice and where intensive training is necessary then it directs people to approach the Division for National Vocational Training. It encourages the production of items like buckets, crockery and other consumables where the entrepreneur, regardless of age, incurs the expenses and handles the actual production. SIDO conceptualises the idea and becomes concerned more with the viability of the business, i.e. whether or not it makes profit.

Feasibility studies are also undertaken in co-operation with the entrepreneur who has to pay for the consultations. Depending on the type of project or investment this might cost between 20,000 and 50,000T/sh regardless of the outcome. Studies which are considered to be viable propositions may be financed by SIDO through its own resources, a revolving fund of about 3 billion T/sh, and where they cannot do so, they advise the entrepreneur to approach other financial institutions. Repayment on loans varies between 2 and 5 years and in exceptional cases 7 years, depending on the size of the project.

Another aspect of SIDO's operations are *Training-cum-Production Centres* that were established under the Ministry of Industries and Trade, to assist rural and urban workers to equip people with the skills necessary for informal sector employment or self-employment. The 10 centres provide short course lasting between 1 and 10 months depending on the nature of the training. The institutional capacity is 265 and enrolment is about 95%.

CISP the Centre for Informal Sector Promotion is principally involved in training youth for small scale production and in entrepreneurial skills and is based in Moshi town. It is an aspect of the ILO/UNDP funded project "Employment Promotion in the Informal Sector" that aims to upgrade the skills of informal sector operators

TACOSODE the Tanzania Council of Social Development works in conjunction with TANGO identifying the activities to be carried out by the NGO's. The degree to which this organisation influences youth training policy is at present unclear.

TYDEF the Tanzania Youth Development Fund was founded in 1987 as a non-governmental and non-profit organisation following consultation between the Trustees, Tanzania Youth Organisation (VIJANA), the Tanzania Women Organisation (UWT), the Government, the Association of Tanzania Employers (ATE), the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Tanzania Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, Private individuals, various youth groups and other institutions.

The aims of the foundation was to promote youth employment, support small scale farming and business enterprises, develop youth enterpreneurship and encourage the spirit of self help in rural and urban areas.

EDF the Entrepreneur Development Fund was founded in 1990 by the President Mwinyi to alleviate the economic problems of the youth in the informal sector and to reduce the problem of product scarcity. The objective is to encourage small businesses for Std VII and Form IV students and also to create employment for those suffering from retrenchment. There are at present 120 groups practising a variety of trades ranging from carpentry, shoemaking, tinsmithy to horticulture.

The organisation offers loans to business owners for up to one year at an interest of 20% (1994 rates). This is to enable recipients to develop good financial management and to enable the fund to regenerate. The Fund also is attempting to lease parcels of land to small enterprises and has links with SIDO. Its current policy however is to concentrate its efforts in DSM and Zanzibar only.

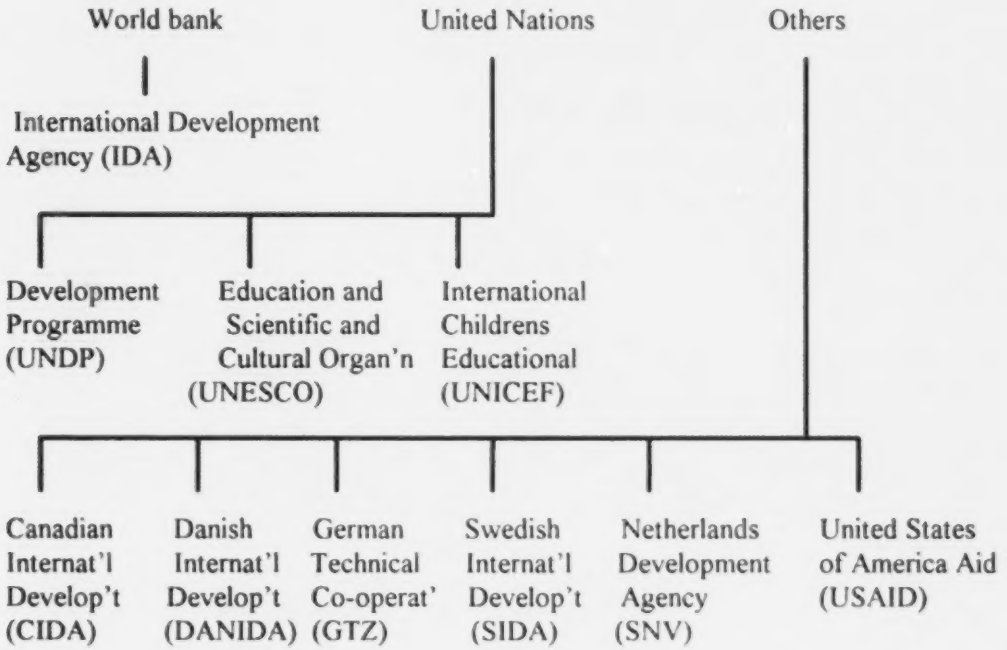
CCT the Christian Council of Tanzania acts as a co-ordinating organisation providing education and training though its different dioceses. Many training centres were established in pre-colonial times and their objective is to provide skills training to mainly primary school leavers in crafts to enable them to be self-employed. Many centres are affiliated to NVTD and follow their syllabus. Training usually takes between 1 and 2 years depending on the trade.

There are 58 vocational training centres owned by the church who also run 90 homecraft centres for girls that concentrate on tailoring, cookery and other home economics activities. Most of the VTCs are located in towns and mainly in the headquarters of the diocese but there are a significant number of other types of training centres in rural areas, as country-wide there

are 278 in total. The VTC's offer a range of course ranging from carpentry, masonry, mechanics, auto-mechanics, electrical skills, tailoring, agriculture, domestic science, to draughtsmanship and trainees follow the NVTD syllabi. Capacity is estimated at 700 places and enrolment is 95%. In the course of this study visits were made to Catholic, Don Bosco and Lutheran VTC's.

The next group to consider are the World Bank, UN agencies and the international donor community.

INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS



World Bank, this organisation has a long history of providing financial assistance for vocational training, beginning in the 1970's with its support for Diversified Technical schools. In 1977, IDA projects began at Mwanza and Tanga VTC's and latterly support has been given to Morogoro National Vocational Teachers Training Centre.

UNDP United Nations Development Programme in 1987 agreed to support training within industry by awarding apprenticeships to youths completing basic vocational training. Funds were allocated to provide technical equipment and the training of local personnel.

UNESCO the United Nations Education and Science Cultural Organisation have no defined policy for vocational training in Tanzania.

UNICEF the United Nations International Childrens Educational Fund this agency through its orientated programmes of health related training is involved in youth training in regard to water and sanitation projects e.g. pit latrines. Another priority area is to raise the income of women to improve the general health of mother and children. Since 1989 they have promoted

projects that help these people to generate cash income, and a few have managed to become micro-entrepreneurs by mobilising them into groups and providing basic training in price-setting, accounting, book-keeping, marketing etc. No specific data was available on the number of youth involved in training.

CIDA the Canadian International Development Agency has in the past been involved with the training of technical instructors of VTC's and was instrumental in conjunction with the World Bank in developing the Morogoro Vocational Teachers Training College.

DANIDA the Danish International Development Agency along with SIDA the Swedish International Development Agency are the principal supporters of vocational training in Tanzania. Since the 1970's these two agencies have been instrumental in funding the construction and equipping of a number of VTC's. Currently they are assisting the government implement a programme of reforms to re-orientate VTC's to enable them to adapt to changes in the market-place. DANIDA are also involved in the refurbishment of schools.

GTZ, German Technical Co-operation currently does not support vocational training, but they are considering future involvement in this area.

SIDA the Swedish International Development Agency in addition to assisting in the VTC programme has been active in supporting numerous other developments such as the Distance Teacher training programme, the FDC programme and in providing books and other resource materials for schools.

SNV the Netherlands Development Agency concentrates its resources on supporting rural VTC's especially those operated by the church. The emphasis is on upgrading the technical and organisational skills of administrator's and trainers.

USAID the United States Agency for International Development indirectly enhances some youth training programmes either through funding local NGO's, e.g. TYDEF, or by co-operating in outreach programmes to encourage the development of small scale industries.

The above profile although encompassing the principal players aptly illustrates the diversity of interests in the training of the youth and the level of support available to the young people to either train as artisans and/or become self-employed in the informal sector. In numerical terms however estimates of the total training capacity of those listed amounts to less than 7% of the 380,000 Std VII leavers and provides a stark illustration of the magnitude of the problems facing the youth. The corollary is that the informal sector represents the biggest training provider in the country through on-the-job training.

5. The Informal Sector in Tanzania

The informal sector has a long and well charted history in developing countries. In 1972 the ILO first defined a socio-economic system that is now commonly known as the informal sector, i.e. *"all activities that operate largely outside the system of government benefit and regulation"* and subsequently they defined the characteristics of the informal sector as:

Informal sector	*Formal sector*
Ease of entry	Difficult entry
Reliance on indigenous resources	Frequent reliance on overseas resources
Family ownership of enterprise	Corporate ownership
Small scale operation	Large scale operation
Labour-intensive methods of production and adapted technology	Capital-intensive and often imported technology
Skills acquired outside the formal school system	Formally acquired skills, often expatriate
Unregulated and competitive markets	Protected markets (through tariffs, quotas and trade licences)

Since then this taxonomy has been refined and also given a number of different names, what is important is that; they all describe economic transactions which are not captured and/or are under reported in official GDP statistics, they therefore operate outside the legal regulations of the state, and finally as a consequence have little opportunity to obtain credit or access to new technologies.

Governments of developing countries, regardless of political persuasion are currently adopting policies designed to encourage and promote the informal sector as it is considered to be, one of the principal mechanisms for the economic survival for ever greater numbers of people. The sector is characterised by individuals, families or small groups who produce/provide a range of goods and services (vehicle repair, metalworking and woodworking, clothing and shoe manufacture, construction and retail trade to cite but a few examples) principally for consumption by the poorer people, and represent a substitute for the output from the formal industrial sector.

Since the early 1970's Tanzania adopted a series of policies designed to eradicate such activities. However, in the mid 1980's due to severe economic difficulties and pressure from the international donor community, politicians were forced to acknowledge the socio-economic potential of the sector. This has led to a number of studies, policy documents and initiatives by both the government, national and international agencies to stimulate and assist people to enter into production, and once established, to develop their businesses.

5.1 Ideological repression

Until the mid 80's the government was hostile towards informal sector activities, especially in urban areas as it considered them to be clandestine, exploitive and subversive, as they challenged the socialist notion of an egalitarian and classless society and as they operated outside the legal system depriving the government of tax revenue, they must also be corrupt.

As a consequence the government mounted a number of concerted campaigns to eradicate informal sector activities; in 1973 the issuance of urban trading licences to self-employed traders was abolished, in 1976 there were attempts to resettle DSM's self-employed and unemployed in *Ujamaa* villages, in 1983 as part of its purge of so-called '*economic saboteurs*' the government enacted a Penal Code amendment which branded all self-employed as '*unproductive*' and '*idle disorderly persons*' who were to be banned from towns. The final attempt was in 1984 when the government passed the Human Resources Deployment Act that introduced official identification cards in an attempt to rid towns of '*idlers and loiterers*', i.e. the unlicensed self-employed. Anyone challenged and unable to produce an official identification card was rounded up and resettled in the countryside. The principal problem with government policies to eradicate informal sector activities, was that they failed to distinguish between *bona fide* operators with established businesses and those who were either, unemployed migrants or undertaking criminally illegal activities.

Despite government attempts to eradicate the urban informal sector in the early 1970's it encouraged some forms of rural self-employment. As part of the second FYDP, the government had established SIDO to facilitate its policy of industrialisation as discussed earlier in the report. Training was provided in a wide range of trades and skills which were designed in the main, to reinforce rural development. Alongside traditional skills such as metal work, carpentry, tinsmithing and weaving, were courses in pottery, oil extraction, fruit and vegetable preservation, lime manufacture, methane gas production and leather technology. Between 1974 and 1977 centres had been established in eight areas (the majority of which were in the urban industrial areas) and a total of 12 courses had trained a total of 361 people (249 men and 112 women), of these, 196 (54% and all male) were either metal/tinsmiths or carpenters (CCT 1979). In terms of numbers trained, the SIDO programme made little or no impact on rural life as many of those trained in metal/tinsmithery or carpentry subsequently plied their trade in the urban areas, either establishing formal businesses or operating in the informal sector. This conclusion is supported by official data for between 1973 and 1981 only 27% of the 120 million T/sh SIDO in contracted development loans arranged by SIDO was for rural industrial projects.

The failure of this policy, is attributed in part to structural difficulties in the public sector that resulted in a lack of co-ordination, identifying client groups and in providing effective support to those receiving assistance. This conclusion is given credence in the findings of a study by Kahama et al (1986) who found that '*60% of the total projected new plans and 15% of the proposed investment did not appear to be based on concrete data*'. The study also commented that in many instances the operating costs of small businesses were significantly higher than those for mass production and that the quality of goods tended to be lower. These comments were subsequently endorsed by SIDO following a survey of small-scale industries in 1977 - 1978. Since this time SIDO has progressively biased itself towards the formal sector and evolved into a parastatal consultancy.

The repression of *bona fide* operators presented something of an ideological paradox as the characteristics of informal sector activities in many ways represent the very essence of the concept of self-reliance. This axiom is further tested when the role of the state, considered in an earlier section is examined. The conclusion to be drawn is that ESR was a national concept that concerned the country's relations with other nations. Policies which promoted ESR represented a concerted attempt to assert Tanzania's national identity and reduce her dependency (and by implication influence and control) on colonial and other foreign powers.

In-country however, ever greater centralised control represented the antithesis of self-reliance. Socio-economic intervention by the government attempted to impose the will of the state on the people by eroding their freedom and promote dependency on the state. The resilience and growth of the informal sector was therefore testimony to the determination of the people to maintain a degree of autonomy, (the rural farmer adopting a strategy of day-to-day non-compliance with parastatal policies (Hyden 1980), or the urban operator deported and immediately returning to re-establish his/her business (Tripp 1988).

During the austerity years of the early 1980's the rapid growth in informal sector activities (rural and urban) ran contrary to the objectives of central government, by successfully circumventing the legislation passed to suppress it, not out of perversity but of necessity. Such activities to many people respresented survival strategies to alleviate hunger and poverty, '*independent survival efforts ... to sustain the livelihood of low income earners following the failure by the official economy to provide sufficient supplies of commodities*' Kahama et al. (1986), Maliyamkono & Bagachwa (1990). This is further endorsed by studies of urban informal sector enterprises in Arusha and DSM by Bagachwa and Ndulu (1988) who found that 75% of those surveyed in Arusha and 80% in DSM had been established between 1980 and 1987, while Tripp's (1988) DSM survey found that 64% had begun within the last 5 years compared to only 15% in the previous 5 years. Tripp also found that a significant proportion of urban women (66%) were self-employed and that most of them (78%) had started their businesses in the past five years.

In recent years this momentum has been maintained due to a combination of growing youth unemployment, retrenchement and a steady decline in the value of formal sector wages (the ILO estimates that real wages had declined by 13.5% for rural incomes, while non-agricultural 65% between 1979 and 1984. This situation forced many formal sector employees to engage in informal sector activities to supplement their income. Omolo (1989) estimates that over 70% of public officers operate one or more '*mradi*' (project) ranging from '*poultry, raising, farming, baking, petty commerce, carpentry, automobile and bicycle repairs, tailoring, giving private tuition classes by school teachers etc*'.

This has led to a number of problems, one of the most prominent is a conflict of interests, as increasing numbers of employees are forgoing their contractual obligations to enable them to operate their businesses. A study by Maliyamkono & Bagachwa (1990) found that such practices were common place among '*civil servants and parastatal workers*' who deliberately worked shorter hours to enable them to utilise, '*the rest of the day on other productive or informal activities to supplement formal income*'. Although this practice cannot be condoned, one mitigating factor is that in many cases the income from the informal sector business is significantly higher than their salary '*sometimes at least 10 times more*' (Omolo 1989) and until this situation is reversed the effective operation of the public sector will continue to suffer. Another aspect to consider is that apart from retrenchment, increasing numbers of people have deserted the poorly rewarded formal sector to work full-time in the informal sector where enterprise and initiative can bring substantial rewards, as indicated in Tripp's (1988) survey where 70% of the people who had left formal employment had done so since 1980.

It has been noted previously, in their efforts to eradicate IS activities on purely ideological grounds, the government continually failed to distinguish between truly subversive activities and those which were potentially supportive to national economic development. In 1985 the

ILO estimated that in Sub-Saharan countries informal sector output averaged about 20% of GDP. In comparison a study by Aboagye (1989), estimated that in Tanzania this figure was just over half that figure at 10.3%. The introduction of structural reforms in the mid 1980's (ERP 1986 & ESAP 1988) brought with it a more pragmatic political climate that was conducive to the development of the sector, mindful that such activities could support and develop aspects of socio-economic life that the state could no longer maintain.

5.2 The wind of change

As early as 1984 the government were beginning to consider the merits and potential of the informal sector. According to Dandi (1989) as part of the Human Resource Deployment Programme the government had invited the ILO to assist in studying the potential of the informal sector for employment creation. Since then a number of other studies carried out by the ILO (1987) and the University of DSM have all confirmed the socio-economic potential of the sector and highlighted the barriers (discriminatory economic, financial and legal measures) compared to the formal sector (favoured in terms of credit, access to markets and operational procedures).

There is a consensus of opinion among academics who have studied the informal sector in Tanzania, that four important factors relate to the structure and potential of this sector. (Bagachwa & Ndulu 1975, Bagachwa 1983, Aboagye 1985, Tripp 1989, Komba 1989, Omolo 1989, Wagao 1989, Katabaruki 1990, Maliyamkono & Bagachwa 1990, ILO 1991);

- the sector consists of semi-organised and unregulated activities undertaken largely by the self-employed. This provides latitude and flexibility for a broad range of decisions in terms of personal initiative and innovation, the size of the enterprise, the choice of technique and the utilisation of income,
- there are only minor barriers to entry in all of these activities thus creating a potential base for rapid expansion once the opportunities and incentives are present,
- these studies consistently find that the sector is relatively more labour-intensive, more efficient, more profitable, saves more on skilled labour and foreign exchange, and can generate more jobs with smaller capital outlays than large scale formal sector activities. This reduces its vulnerability to external shocks compared with the levels faced by the formal sector,
- there is also considerable evidence that IS entrepreneurs can mobilise their own savings.

Similarly there is general agreement about the constraints which have traditionally inhibited the development of the sector (Dandi 1989);

- a lack of capital for financing informal sector enterprises either to start operating or to encourage growth,
- a lack of infrastructure such as business premises/sites with the appropriate utilities (water and electricity) and marketing,
- a scarcity of raw materials means that they are sometimes unavailable even when operators have the money to purchase them,
- a lack of encouragement by local government which inhibits expansion and by implication the potential of the sector to absorb unproductive labour,

- a lack of relevant knowledge and skills, the technical *know-how* as the majority of informal sector operators have only primary education,
- limited access to formal Technical and Vocational Training make it difficult for most of the enterpreneurs to obtain the required skills, both technical and managerial, with which to operate enterprises successfully

However, whilst there was a consensus over the relative merits and constraints of informal sector activities and studies had yielded both qualitative and quantitative data, no major socio-economic study of the sector had been carried out. This represented a constraining factor as by the late 1980's both the government and international donors had expressed a desire to assist in the development of the sector, but were hesitant to commit resources. The outcome was, The 1991 National Informal Sector Survey which was the first comprehensive survey of the informal sector for Mainland Tanzania. The survey was carried out with the assistance of the UNDP/ILO through Project URT/85/011 (and its successor URT/91/028) on Developing Labour Market Information and SIDA through its on-going assistance to the Bureau of Statistics and to the Social Dimensions of Adjustments (SDA) Project.

In defining the informal sector the principal criteria employed were; Private enterprises with 5 or less paid employees, appropriate enterprises being undertaken at a market, in a temporary structure or on a footpath, in the street or in an open place.

The results of the survey profiled the sector as consisting of about 1.8 million enterprises, of which 1.2 million (60%) are in rural areas. Nearly three-quarters of enterprises 1.3m (72%) were started with an initial capital of less than 5,000T/sh, while 41% began with less than 1,000T/sh. Self-employment is prominent, as just under three-quarters (74%) were found to be operators, the remainder employees. In gender terms this pattern was repeated. Only 11% of the population are in urban areas yet they generate 60% of the total value added and host 35.9% of businesses.

The average age of workers is 34 and this represents a skewed distribution curve that clearly shows a young work-force. Comparing the rural and urban averages, the urban work-force is slightly younger 32 years of age compared with 36 years of age for rural workers. Just over half (51%) of those employed have completed primary school. By gender this equates to 56% of males and 43% of females. Only 4% have attended secondary school or higher.

At some time of the year about 22% of the total labour force is employed in the informal sector, of which 15% is in rural areas (where it is generally considered to be a secondary activity to agriculture). This constituted about 28% of employed males and 15% females. The principal occupations are trades, restaurants/hotels in urban areas and small scale manufacturing in the rural areas. In terms of occupational distribution over 75% of females were engaged in trade (buying and selling) /restaurants/hotels as against 38% male, while in three industries, mining, construction and transport the employment of females was almost negligible. Overall 40% of enterprises had operated for 5 or more years and 22% had traded for 10 or more years. In manufacturing and construction the data suggested that these enterprises were more established as over 50% had been trading for 5 or more years.

In terms of value added the sector was estimated to be 183.4 billion T/sh, about 32% of the country's total. The survey authors endorsed the value and potential of the sector by stating

that far from being a maginalised sector it is highly profitable '*and a major source of income and employment opportunities*'.

The data presented so far was intended to present an overview of the sector, its size economic value and potential as a mechanism for providing subsistence income and the development of small-scale enterprises. However, subtle differences are embedded within these statistics that transcend the rural-urban dichotomy. Subsistence employment dominates the data and suggests that enterprises such as vending, shops/restaurants/hotels, transport etc represent transient activities frequently undertaken by young people. Manufacturing and construction on the other hand tend to represent more stable established forms of employment and income generation.

Changing from the macro perspective to an examination of data relevant to aspects of the study, a number of interesting trends emerge.

Less than 10,000 (0.4%) children under 10 years old work in the sector. This number increases significantly for 10-14 year olds where over 44,000 (2%) are employed, while youths aged between 15-19 years account for 9% of the labour force. Gender wise the overall picture is very similar, but when a comparison between urban and rural distribution is made, a significantly different picture emerges. Children and youths in urban areas (16%) are on average twice as likely to be employed in the informal sector, than their peers in rural areas (8%).

Electrical and mechanical trades accounted for only 2% of the estimated 1.8 million enterprises and employ a similar percentage of people. Males dominate these sectors as female participation accounts for less than 0.1% of the work-force. The survey suggests that women are discriminated against in both urban and rural areas and that it is most widespread in electrical trades and vehicle repair. No women were found to be employed in the electrical repair sector, while no female vehicle repairers were reported in rural areas.

Early in the study it became apparent that in addition to our original aim of focusing on electrical and mechanical trades that two others, carpentry and tailoring would also need to be considered. Manpower planning based on supply-side policies had resulted in these two trades (along with masonry) being taught in both formal training centres and informally in the work-place.

The survey, although not specifically classifying carpentry, noted that enterprises encompassing wood products accounted for 6% of enterprises, but workers identified as either carpenters or furniture makers comprised 4% of the total informal sector labour force. Again there is widespread discrimination against women. Only 405 female carpenters were noted (0.5% of the work-force) located only in urban areas other than DSM, while no women were reported to be employed as furniture makers. Clothing making enterprises accounted for 5% of businesses and employed 4% of the work-force. Women were more evident as they made up nearly 22% of all tailors, but in the rural areas participation was only 16%.

The majority of employees in the informal sector were unskilled (80%) or were trained on the job (10%), only 5% were skilled artisans. Apprentices were found to be concentrated in three industries, manufacturing, construction and service industries and out of the 50,000

apprentices identified, only 5% were female. The training was generally carried out in small-scale industries either as paid or unpaid employees.

Since the survey, a number of papers and policy documents have been published which strengthen the commitment of the government to the sector. One of the most influential and comprehensive was the '*National Policy for Informal Sector Promotion*' (URT/UNDP/ILO 1994). The document outlines the principal constraints and suggests strategies to reform and facilitate the future development of the sector. Two groups were identified operating within the sector, '*micro-enterprise*' and '*subsistence*'. The former denotes those operations deemed capable of expansion and wealth creation, while the latter refers to those for whom participation represents '*survival strategies*' and encompasses most of the sector.

The authors draw attention to the need for structural changes in central and local government to enable enterprises to operate and expand. To implement and support change new Quangos were proposed, the National Council for Micro-enterprise and Informal Sector Promotion (NACISP), the Micro-enterprise and Informal Sector Promotion Agency (MISPA) and Centres for Informal Sector Promotion (CISP). The need for access to credit facilities, new technologies and specialist expertise such as marketing was also highlighted. Education and training, both initial and recurrent was also addressed, as well as the need to encourage an enterprise culture among primary school pupils and those in Vocational Training Centres (VTC's) by including aspects of self-employment in the curriculum. The degree to which these proposals have been implemented, there influence on education, training and sector activities will be considered in detail in subsequent sections.

5.3 Informal sector enterprises

In the course of this study many informal sector enterprises were visited, located in both rural and urban areas. Some of these were subsistence activities, others represented co-operative and small-scale industries. As part of this study 8 different informal sector enterprises were profiled to provide examples of the ways in which different types of operators carry out their business. These ranged from licensed co-operative ventures sited in DSM, to Nguvu Kazi subsistence level activities operating in both rural and urban areas.

5.3.1 DSM the Gerezani area.

Gerezani is a ward within the city of DSM where a plethora of industrial activity takes place in an area of about 2 km sq. Here, operating in an environment similar to the *Jua Kali* areas in Kenya are; vehicle mechanics, metal fabricators/welders, plumbers, makers of consumer goods and utensils, carpenters and enterprises that specialise in selling second-hand goods such as spare parts that service and support many of the businesses in the area. In addition a further tier of people earn a living, not by direct labour but through, *'purchasing power ... one owns a piece of land and hires this to fundis on a daily basis and these pay the owner by day of work, others hire their tools while some hire both the land and tools to fundis. The last group has working area, tools and some skill, but hires specialised fundis who come to Gerezani for this'* explained the chairman of DASICO the principal co-operative in the area.

The area was originally designated for informal sector industries by the government and was in many ways, until recently monitored by the ruling party CCM, through the operations of a co-operative officer, (e.g. to gain access to the area the researchers had to apply to the CCM office in Gerezani for permission). Many, but not all of the enterprises in the area are

registered, again for political reasons, for until quite recently the city council would undertake purges that attempted to close down and expel any operator that was not registered with the co-operatives. '*We joined the co-operative to gain a working area, otherwise we were to be expelled*' (UMAGE chairman July 1994).

The businesses operating in the area range from subsistence activities carried out on the streets, to co-operatives, some of which operate in name only. A common factor in nearly all of the subsistence activity businesses, is a lack of book-keeping and a reliance on haggling to determine the price of a job or service. In addition, the agreed price is often influenced by factors such as family, friends, or the appearance of the client.

Slightly larger group activities were found to keep simple records mainly of sales, e.g. one group making exhaust pipes kept a record that enabled them to say, '*on average we sell about 40 in a month*'. However, one permeating problem repeatedly encountered, was that entrepreneurs had little or no idea of the true cost of their products or services and therefore quotations were based on arbitrary sums. Again, referring to the company as an example, exhaust pipes cost between 4,000 and 6,000T/sh for a small car, yet the owners could not define how this figure was derived.

Where groups were found to be working, '*specialisation*' was practised and also a significant amount of sub-contracting when specialist skills were not available in-house. However, groups are often formed for co-operation and convenience rather than to operate as a corporate unit, as the members consider themselves to be self-employed individuals. An example of the system in action is illustrated by the following scenario recounted by the proprietor of a garage. A client brings their vehicle to be repaired and the proprietor after assessing the work, declares a price. This is sometimes accepted but more often or not, reduced after negotiation. The proprietor then asks specialist fundis to tender for aspects of the work and agrees a price with them. Finally, if spare parts are required these are purchased, the price again is negotiable. The important factor as far as the proprietor is concerned, is that at the end of this protracted process, a profit is made. Although this example is based on a garage, similar experiences were observed and recounted by operators throughout the area. It is obvious from this example which was observed and reiterated by many other operators in the area, that business takes place in an environment not constrained by regulations, job cards, or any other administrative paperwork, a totally *laissez-faire* culture.

Within the co-operative, yet fiercely independent structure of the Gerezani, there exists a temptation by members to defraud the organisation. Artisans accept work outside of the area which they subsequently do not declare. '*They get jobs and they do not carry them inside their area and also they do not report this to the office so it is difficult to collect any money from them because when you ask them they say 'we have not got any job'* lamented the chairman of DASICO. Such fraud was considered to be widespread and the loss of revenue was according to the chairman, one of the principal reasons why the co-operative had been unable to reinvest in capital equipment.

In terms of training, the Gerezani has a reputation for producing large numbers of highly skilled artisans. However, one of the problems of this success, is that significant numbers of newly qualified artisans leave the area, lured by salaried employment in larger companies both formal and informal. '*When they qualify they get stolen ... some customers bring their work here and when they get a competent trainee they go away with him ... companies also prefer*

our products who train using a hands on approach, rather than those trained in books who need to refer to the book always'. It is worth noting that regardless of location (rural or urban), one of the permeating complaints from informal sector operators was that VTC trained artisans lacked the capability to adapt to the working practices of the informal sector. In particular, the lack of problem-solving skills and ingenuity with a reliance on procedure were singled out for criticism.

In regard to gender, it is a male dominated environment where female operators are discriminated against. Of the very many operators interviewed, very few would either consider training or employing a girl and of those who had, without exception they regarded it as a mistake never to be repeated. Typical comments on the subject of girls were, '*I have trained in girls, one of them changed her behaviour after arriving here ... she left what brought her here and engaged in other type of business ... she was not serious and had no determination ... sleeping in motor vehicles ... girls fall victims of many drivers from upcountry*', while another said, '*we have not taken in girls ... we are prejudiced and have little expectations from girls*'.

Although during the study a number of visits were made to observe the activities carried out in the Gerezani area, only two are presented as case studies. The first, DASICO is a co-operative that is a microcosm of many of the subsistence manufacturing activities carried out in the Gerezani area. This organisation is also the *mother* to all the other co-operatives and groups that operate in the Gerezani area and monitors their activities. In addition, other groups (such as carpenters) can use DASICO's facilities provided that they pay the appropriate levy. The second study UMAGE, is a typical co-operative that deals with vehicle maintenance, one of the principal activities carried out in the area.

5.3.1.1 Dar es Salaam Small Industries Co-operative (DASICO)

In 1967, what is now called DASICO was started as a co-operative society with about 50 artisans in the Gerezani area/ward of DSM. Its original name was the National Self-Industries Corporation (NSIC). The NSIC represented a political solution to the problems of informal sector artisans practising illegally throughout the city. They were collected from the streets and given the Gerezani area by the government to establish their work-shops. In 1973 it aligned itself with SIDO who enabled them to purchase machines through a loan which they finished in 1992. Later, the co-operative renamed itself DASICO. Future plans include developing a new, larger site at Kidongo-chekundu which has been promised by the President.

DASICO is a registered company yet every member is, '*self-reliant and independent*' and therefore self employed. Each member pays a 7% fee to the administration of the co-operative that covers such items as utilities, maintenance of buildings and machines and marketing. The artisans affiliated to the co-operative produce a wide range of products, (carpentry, metalworking, fabrication, art and craft and paper bag making etc) manufactured from both recycled and new materials.

5.3.1.2 Marketing

In the early days products were sold through the marketing officer who deducted the 7% administrative levy from the sale price of the finished goods. However, by the early 1980's this system began to collapse, due to the fact that there were no markets for some of the products, while others took too long to sell. As the artisans operate at a subsistence level, the system of central marketing ceased and individual artisans were forced to seek their own markets. This

system still operates, although in one of three ways. The first involves the marketing officer seeking tenders from individuals or companies, e g. an order for fifty office tables and chairs. The second method involves buyers or clients visiting the premises and purchasing directly. The final method is that individual artisans find their own buyers. The second and third methods are currently the most favoured for selling goods as they enable the artisans to deceive the administration by either non-declaration of sales or, submitting a lower value receipt for the goods. Consequently the co-operatives' earnings have fallen drastically which has affected the payment of salaries and utility bills. The most serious consequence has been the lack of funds to maintain the existing machines or to purchase new machinery.

5.3.1.3 Working practices

Co-operative members and their apprentices work as individual units or in small groups. The vast majority manufacture low value-added products by a process of batch production, based on copying from a master/sample artefact, e g. cooking utensils, clasps for doors or door bolts, animal feeders etc. that are sold directly to *middle-men* who then sell them at market. Some artisans produce one-off items based on a plan or template they have made. Asked how they derive a price for a job, no artisan could define a clear strategy, most merely said they got as much money as they could by haggling. The most important factor to note however is that they fail to realise that by actively competing against each other to sell their goods, they effectively reduce the price and the profit on each item to the benefit of the middle-man.

5.3.1.4 Training policy and practices

The co-operative has expanded from the original 50 members to its current size of 305 artisans and trainees as a result of *a training and retaining* policy adopted by the organisation. This policy however has led to problems of overcrowding that was acknowledged by those interviewed to be a health hazard, and consequently plans to expand training have been delayed.

In the past training was generally given to the sons and relatives of artisans of the co-operative in preference to outsiders. The current chairman of the co-operative described how he began, *'I was brought in by my father when I completed Std VII in 1977. I had no skills when I joined my father's department in metalwork but I ended up making metal basins and buckets'*. He considered that since the early days, the co-operative had trained over 4,000 apprentices. Apprentices pay a membership fee of 50T/sh to the co-operative but there was no set rate for individual training fees. Similarly fees charged to cover the loss or breakage of tools is a matter settled between the artisan and his apprentice. The trainees are Std VII leavers and in a typical year up to 1992 about 395 trainees were employed. However, due to the success of their train and retain policy, current training is restricted to the sons of artisans, to replace members who have left or died.

Although there is no regulation which prevents girls from being admitted as an apprentice, since the organisation began there have been no girl trainees. In the past, girls were able to join the co-operative as typists and cleaners and had the opportunity to apply for artisan training. Two girls did attempt this route, but due to problems with their parents they did not progress. There was however, one woman who was involved with paper bag manufacture from 1979 - 1992.

Training takes between 1 and 2 years, but trainees are expected to contribute to the production process within 1 and 6 months depending on the skill required and the individual

trainee's progress, e.g. 1-1½ months for light work, and 3-6 months for carpentry. Training is based on the principal of *saidia fundi* (watching/helping the artisan). During the visits to the co-operative, the interactions observed were essentially, to watch, observe and respond to the artisans orders, *'give me this, come and hold here, bend this, cut that etc'*. The language of instruction was Kiswahili and the intonation varied depending on the attitude of the trainer and the type of activity. The emphasis was solely on assisting in the production process. There was no opportunity for the trainees to gain knowledge and skills that were not directly applicable to the manufacturing process. The trainees begin by using their parent's tools and equipment and are later expected to purchase their own. However, some trainees are too poor to do so and continue to use the tools loaned by their parents until they are fully trained and become self-employed artisans. Awareness of the need to use tools and equipment in a safe manner, was largely ignored.

A typical training programme would begin by, supplying tools, holding, cutting, using hand and power drills or chisels, but the trainee was prevented from measuring, taking orders from clients, designing and manufacturing any item on his own. Later, they would progress to making simple artefacts and the quality of this product was used to assess the trainees level of competence and his readiness to join a particular work group. Most of the experienced artisan trainers considered that most trainees took a minimum of 6 months before they were competent enough to perform independent tasks.

It is worth noting that those artisans who remained of the original 50, all related how they were trained during the German or British colonial period and had received on-the-job training in various companies. Some of them had completed 'O' level technical secondary education, or a formal vocational training programme.

5.3.1.5 Recurrent training

The principal officers of the co-operative were elected to their posts, but received no formal training in the roles and responsibilities of the office. Similarly, once an trainee/apprentice had completed his term, there was no little opportunity for him to acquire additional skills.

5.3.1.6 Observations

A permeating constraint was the inward looking nature of the enterprise. The ruling party CCM exerted a significant influence on the operational aspects of the co-operative and until recently, inhibited access to associations donors and agencies who in the past may have been able to provide both technical and financial assistance. (In 1994 a number of groups started to receive support from the ILO). Within the co-operative this insular culture has resulted in a lack of innovation on the part of the artisans, who continue to manufacture the same products regardless of consumer demand and changing tastes.

5.3.2 Union of Motor Vehicle Mechanics - Gerezani (UMAGE)

UMAGE was formed in 1976 with 10 members in response to the call from government for artisans to form co-operative ventures. The current membership is 72 of which 40 are trainees who are learning a variety of trades. The co-operative has a formal constitution and elected officers with defined roles and responsibilities.

Prosperity and development are currently measured in the number of clients using their facilities and services, and not in terms of the quality of tools and facilities. According to the Chairman the principal constraints to development were threefold, a lack of land and suitable

premises (so that access and security could be improved) and the knowledge and skills to develop and maintain effective business plans.

5.3.2.1 Marketing

There was no attempt or apparent need to actively market the services of the co-operative and clients were attracted by a number of means, personal recommendation and the extended family being the most prominent. Clients would contact the office and arrange to have their vehicle repaired.

5.3.2.2 Working practices

Due to the nature of the work and the restrictions of space in the Gerezani area, a significant proportion of the repair work undertaken by the artisans and apprentices takes place at the homes of clients or in the case of a breakdown, out on the open road.

From observations and examination of the plant, equipment and working practices during visits, getting the job done was considered to be of greater importance than personal safety. There is a need to encourage more systematic methods of storing spare parts as those currently used in all probability contributed to the repeated failure of components which were not greased or maintained adequately.

5.3.2.3 Training policy and practices

Since the organisation began the founder members considered that they had trained over 200 apprentices although most had left after their training to seek employment outside the Gerezani area. Some had sat and passed the trade test at Chang'ombe and gone on to gain employment in the formal sector.

There is no reference in the constitution of the co-operative about the nature of training or the numbers of trainees that they can employ, but entry is restricted to the children of existing members due to the constraints imposed by the site. '*We enrol relatives and family friends because UMAGE has no property/tools. Every member comes in the morning with his tools and so to avoid loss of tools and ensure accountability we have to bring in relatives*'. The use of the family bond as a method of control was acknowledged by all members because, '*it is easier to deal with a relative*' the chairman remarked.

Constitutionally, entry is open to both gender but existing members held very firm views that vehicle maintenance was *a 'man's affair'*. Only one girl had attempted to join the co-operative, but was discriminated against *'for her own good'*, as she may have been tempted by the lure of money, by long-distance lorry drivers, or the well-to-do drivers of DSM.

One aspect that appeared to concern the apprentices was that they were not formally registered and therefore had no proof of training once qualified. This was all the more disconcerting as within the area there are a number of youths who subsist by selling spare-parts but learn the trades though casual employment.

Apprentices do not pay fees, but they are only paid about 500T/sh per day, a very small amount of money. The artisans did not consider this to be exploitation and defended their actions by referring to the risks incurred in allowing apprentices to use expensive machines. Leading on from this, the artisans said that if an apprentice caused serious damage (either wilful or accidentally), then the culprit would be dismissed. However, in subsequent

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discussions with the chairman of DASICO on the subject of exploitation, he admitted that this was sometimes the case and referred without prompting to UMAGE as an example, *'sometimes the number of trainees is higher than that of the members ... like the case with UMAGE that I had to investigate ... I found out that they did not report new trainees to the office'*.

The training takes about one year and during this time an apprentice becomes a specialist in one of the various trades (mechanic, electric's, body etc). The training programme is not specified, it is totally skills based and no provision is made to record the trainees' progress. Apprentices begin by observing the artisans at work, before progressing to assisting in small jobs. One motor mechanic described the process as '*they start with simple jobs like cleaning the area then learn to know the spanners by showing him as I open up an engine. For example, this is the ... the trainees task is to listen and observe until he gets used to the job*', as the trainee gains some experience, he is trusted to carry out minor jobs unsupervised like '*inspecting springs, propeller shaft ... lorries arriving from long trips upcountry*'. In a similar way an auto electrician commented, '*I start from the battery showing the positive terminal and follow the electric wire from there to ending to the chassis so that the trainee can get the idea of the path ... then I teach how to connect and disconnect this ...*' The process regardless of trade is one of *look-listen-and-try* until they are deemed confident enough to tackle jobs with the minimum of supervision. During the visits, no educational resources (such as sectional exhibits of engine components) were observed and when artisans were asked about the use of resources they all gave answers that implied that they did not need any as the vehicle they were currently working on was the most appropriate resource.

5.3.2.4 Observations

One difficulty alluded to, but not considered a problem, was that very few apprentices when they had completed their training, stayed either with the co-operative or in the Gerezani area. The reason for this according to the chairman were purely financial. The current structure of the co-operative did not offer sufficient incentives to retain the individuals. The UMAGE system involves the client paying for the work and obtaining a receipt. The organisation, after deductions then pays the artisan. As those employed in the motor trade are in demand, then the newly qualified artisans can exercise a degree of choice in their future employment.

5.3.3 Mawenzi Auto Electric Centre (Temeke)

Temeke is another district of DSM noted for its high concentration of specialist vehicle mechanics (Datsun Toyota, Landrover etc) and is like an emporium where any service or component can be acquired. This area operates in a similar manner to the Gerezani and is therefore subject to the same city bye-laws that threaten eviction if operators are not registered.

Again, a number of businesses were observed but only one, the Mawenzi Auto Electric Centre was selected as a case study. The title sounds impressive and this is intentional so that when registering the business, it appears to be prosperous. In practice, the business started in 1987 and is conducted from a strip of land approximately 5 metres by 10 metres, there is no office, only a shed which serves as a store. This business and the others in the vicinity are using the land without legal title and therefore have no right of occupancy, although operators in the area have been trying since 1978 to obtain legal recognition.

An interview with the proprietor revealed that after leaving primary education (Std VII) he worked in the Temeke area as an apprentice beginning as a *spanner-boy*. Once he felt competent enough he began to work independently and decided to occupy the area by constructing a crude shed from which he now operates. He now has three apprentices and has trained several more in previous years including one girl from Chang'ombe(DSM) VTC.

The proprietor indicated that expansion was constrained, '*the area is owned by the city council and they do not want to give us a permanent site*', he went on to say that, '*we had promises to get a working site from the former Prime Minister, ... since he left everything has remained silent ... it seems promises die with change of leadership and we have no more hope*'.

Frustrated by an inability to expand this business the proprietor had used the profits to invest in other ventures such as *dala-dala's* (buses). Diversification, the researchers found was a common trait among those entrepreneurs whose businesses were profitable.

5.3.3.1 Marketing

For reasons similar to those already described in the UMAGE study, the proprietor made no attempt to actively market the services of the company. Clients were attracted by a number of means, personal recommendation and the extended family being the most prominent. The supplier-client dialogue also followed the same format.

5.3.3.2 Working practices

As the business specialises in automobile electrical work, (i.e. fitting wires, checking for faults lights etc) the store contained a collection of what the owner called spare parts, but to the researchers the contents appeared to consist of used car starter motors, meters and a range of unidentifiable wires and miscellaneous items. What was disconcerting was the almost total lack of store management as during the course of interviews workers repeatedly entered the store, walked on, picked-up, dropped and selected items for use. This suggested a total disregard for the value of the components and increased the likelihood of damage to them.

Observing work-in-progress indicated that this aspect of the company's operations were much more structured, as everyone appeared to understand what was expected of them. On one visit, the owner was found working alone on a vehicle while his three apprentices were using a meter to test an alternator on another vehicle.

5.3.3.3 Training policy and practices

Applications to the owner for apprenticeships are generally made via contacts with family and friends. The principal requirement is a Std VII leavers certificate, as both boys and girls are considered on merit. No fee is charged and apprentices are provided with a lunch allowance and transport to and from work. Currently three youths are apprenticed to the owner, each at different stages in their training.

Training takes between 6 to 18 months depending on the progress an individual makes. The training programme is similar to UMAGE in that apprentices begin by learning the technical vocabulary and jargon, while observing the artisan performing a task. Later after supervised practice s/he is allowed to perform the task unsupervised. This aspect of the training was considered by the owner to be crucial as it enabled him to leave the premises to source materials and spares, confident that the work would be satisfactory.

This business like the others studied had no facilities for off-the-job training, (i.e. classrooms chalk-boards etc) however, during the course of several visits the owner was observed drawing in the dust, '*at times the ground serves as our chalk-board and that is where I put my drawing when teaching*', also an old *dala-dala* was used by apprentices to practice newly learnt skills prior to employing them on clients vehicles.

The training is solely concerned with developing the trade-skills, no records are kept recording an apprentice's progress and no provision is made to equip the apprentices with any business acumen, except by example.

5.3.3.4 Observations

This example illustrates how apprentices/trainees are used to maximise the operators earning capacity. The apprentices, once they are considered competent to carry out tasks unsupervised are not being trained, but are carrying out the duties of an artisan. It is therefore advantageous for operators to engage apprentices at regular intervals to ensure that their earning potential is maintained. By staggering the date on which apprentices begin their training, the operator has to devote minimal time to training and during the times when he does, productive work is still being carried out by the more experienced apprentices, i.e. three trainees at different stages.

In this example a second factor was found of interest to the researchers, diversification of investments by operators was a common trait among those entrepreneurs whose businesses were profitable. Owners would not openly admit to it, but acknowledged privately that this type of activity represented a concerted attempt to evade taxation. Operating on such a small-scale is advantageous as apprentices can be exploited to maximise the financial returns for the owner. Conversely if the enterprise grows too large, then it effectively ceases to be an informal sector activity and that would require it to conform to further statutory regulations.

A further argument relating to expansion was presented by a number of owners who were interviewed. Development generally requires a large capital investment to purchase land, plant and equipment, so taking into account the current rate of inflation, and the changing economic climate, owners are reticent about accumulating too much wealth in cash, as inflation reduces its value. It is therefore in their interests to invest in short-term, high-yield activities.

5.3.4 Kisokwe Metal Workers (Mpwapwa)

This venue is situated in a remote rural town some 80 km from the town of Dodoma and began operating in the early 1970's as a family operation. Later they decided to invite other artisans to join them as a '*union*' of 12 metalworkers. The group enterprise began by manufacturing a range of ironmongery to support local needs, (e.g. pangas, hoes, axes etc) using simple tools. However, although union implied common use of tools and facilities, each artisan continued to operate independently.

In 1975 the group gained funds from SIDO that enabled them to construct a workshop about 60m^2 and provide new plant and a range of hand tools. SIDO also arranged for the chairman to attend a training course in Tabora. However, the chairman recalled that the SIDO course was of little value, as about 80% of the programme deals with electric machines such as drills, lathes, and other wood-work machines, things which did not concern him as they do not have electricity. Since then, a further three members of the group had attended SIDO courses, one paid for by the group the other two by a British Charity, Tools for Self-Reliance (TFSR).

Members were very positive about these courses, especially the one on managing a business, '*in some way it helped me on how to run our project*' the participant enthused.

The group first attracted support from TFSR in 1983 who provided them with a consignment of scrap-metal. The original contact was made through SIDO. Since then the charity has maintained regular contact with the group, providing the funds to enable two members to attend SIDO courses at Tabora and most recently (1995), supplying a number of sewing machines to encourage their wives and daughters to engage in productive enterprises. They have also attracted the attention of Mwalimu Nyerere the former President who agreed to be their patron in 1994. In the same year, the Minister for Labour and Youth Development visited the group to see first-hand their activities and promised them additional financial support. They subsequently, '*received 100,000T/sh from the Ministry of Labour and Youth ... and the Minister warned us to be aware of people who give us advice because some are not good especially this time of election*' the chairman remarked.

Although the group do not have a formal business plan or a long term strategy, they have out of necessity begun to develop new products that have transformed their operations from being a producer of low value-added utility products, to a manufacturer of relatively high value-added components to supply new markets. This new work required the artisans to work to greater precision, as the incentive was their earnings were, the chairman conceded, greatly enhanced.

5.3.4.1 Marketing

During the visits made in 1994 the group sold their products to the local villages and complained that business was poor as, '*once they had supplied a panga or axe the customer would not require another for a long time*' complained the chairman. The group did not attempt to sell their goods outside the region as they said they could not compete in terms of price with what they termed '*industrially produced commodities*'.

However, on revisiting the group a year later, their attitudes had changed and they had successfully began to manufacture and sell blades for maze milling machines as well as chisels, hammer, carpentry G-clamps, local knives, buckets and charcoal stoves. A lack of local demand for their existing products had forced the group to source new ones. This was achieved by simply touring distant villages to find out what customers required. An order for milling blades was successfully completed and a sample of this work was used to promote the groups capability and helped them to gain further orders.

5.3.4.2 Working practices

The workshop is currently equipped to undertake blacksmithing type activities. Equipment such as bellows and drills are hand operated as there is no electricity. The shop is well laid-out, well ventilated with an attached large office and store. Workers were observed carrying out forging activities and they had adopted very safe working practices.

A family atmosphere best describes the social/professional interaction between the members, as team work was much in evidence, attributed by them to the training they had received at SIDO. This was in stark contrast to the working practises of other enterprises in the informal sector who tended to operate independently.

5.3.4.3 Training policy and practices

In 1980 they started to train apprentices and since then they have trained 6 boys but only 4 remain with the group. The chairman considered that reason why the 2 youths had left was, *'they were ambitious and imitated the corrupt youth, without caring for the future'*. Recently, under pressure from TFSR they began training girls. However, of 6 girls accepted, 3 became pregnant and left early in their training. The group does not currently charge a fee, *'as the first six were just a trial ... but we have plans to start training in future'*. The reason for this change of attitude was purely financial as, *'we have no money'* admitted the chairman.

The method of training is very similar to those already described. Apprentices start as *saidia fundi* before being allowed to carry-out tasks unsupervised. During our visits, the young children of members were observed assisting in the shop mainly operating the bellows for the two forges.

5.3.4.4 Observations

The most important observation is, that knowledge rather than capital appears to be the decisive factor in the improving fortunes of this group. The SIDO courses provided the knowledge and skills and above all the cultural change necessary to enable group members to adapt to changing times and identify new products and markets. This was reinforced by the enhanced financial rewards for their efforts. However, this process is not without its difficulties, for success has brought its own problems. The group in August 1994, *'had made no plans ... as we were mixing things'* however, in response to events when they were visited May 1995 they had clearly defined ideas for the future, which now included capital equipment. In this example, knowledge was the key that opened the door, but now what is needed is capital to furnish the room.

5.4 Nguvu Kazi groups

The following examples are based on youth groups established as a result of the Human Resource Deployment Act 1983, which aimed to provide unemployed young people with the skills necessary to become self employed. *Nguvu kazi* represents the Party slogan that, *every able person should work*. The Act originally defined that the Ministry of Local Government should be responsible for the establishment and maintenance of these groups, but in practice regional administraters assumed responsibility.

With the transition towards multi-part democracy, responsibility which formally belonged to CCM the ruling party, is now under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Council. During this transitional period there is a degree of confusion as to the future of the Nguvu kazi programme as issues such as funding have yet to be resolved. Interviews with the Municipal Officers reflected this uncertainty as they were unclear as to their own particular roles and responsibilities.

What became clear from discussions with Municipal Officers and regional CCM Officials around the country, was that Nguvu kazi activities initially attracted youth, hopeful of gaining money and the opportunity of self-employment so many groups were formed. Visits by politicians to rural areas were considered one of the most influential ways of attracting youths to form groups. However, in the majority of cases these aspirations and expectations were not fulfilled and many groups within a relatively short time disperse, as disenchanted members seek more profitable activities, or struggle to continue as there is nothing else for them to do.

In every district visited, officers related stories of the privileged few who were prospering as a result of assistance they had received from the ILO or MLYD.

The normal practice was that youth who wished to form groups had to apply to the authorities for assistance. Only when groups were assisted by the ILO or MLYD was there any needs/ market identification carried out. The village or town then allocated a plot of land and some, but not all included buildings. The youth were then left to fend for themselves, '*to prevent the youth from expecting too much from the government*' commented one official. When asked how many groups were operating in their jurisdictions, officers said they were unsure and could only estimate the numbers.

The reasons interviewees gave for disenchantment, ranged from a lack of *funds 'they are eager to get training but there is no money'*, poor administration, logistical problems, to the size of groups. Success was measured more in terms of longevity than productive capacity, and the consensus of opinion was that rural groups engaged in agricultural activities had been more successful than those attempting to operate in artisan trades. The major problem for these people was raising the capital to equip themselves with tools.

5.4.1 Arusha Nguvu kazi groups

Within the town of Arusha the Community Development Office had been delegated responsibility for informal sector activities and had instituted a Nguvu kazi committee of councillors to oversee developments.

Within the municipal district there are known to be at least 18 separate groups operating with several trades such as carpentry, mechanical and electrical engineering. At present only a small amount of money has been received from the MLYD which was in the form of a loan (no training), the repayment of which included a period of grace up to 12 months. The amount available to each group was a maximum of 80,000T/sh at an interest rate of 15%. This may be interpreted as a *prima facie* case of political machination as the commercial rate of interest is nearly double this figure and deferring payment time would coincide with the first multi-party elections.

According to the municipal officer, no training has been made available to groups due to a shortage of funds. However after a thorough survey of needs a programme should be provided, but both the survey and subsequent training would depend on the allocation of funds from sponsors. In addition to the shortage of funds, groups suffer from problems of sustainability due to trading difficulties. Youths form groups in the hope that financial support will be forthcoming only to find that the only assistance they receive is a plot of land with no facilities. The first hurdle is therefore to establish their presence by obtaining tools and materials to begin trading.

Two groups have been selected for study, they were both started in the last five years but operate in two different ways. The Vijana Metal Group (VIMEGRO) began in 1991 and operates as a corporate group producing aluminium castings, while the other Pamoja Nguvu operates as a group in name only as the members of the group operate as individuals but share the same site.

5.4.1.1 Vijana Metal Group (VIMEGRO)

The site is a small shanty next to the railway on the outskirts of town. The group began in 1991 with 4 members who smelted Aluminium. Since then their number have grown to 15 and they are involved with casting charcoal filled pressing irons and other spare parts from scrap metal. '*Membership to the group is open to anyone who has Std VII education, who can pay the entry fee of 3,000T/sh and is prepared to work hard*', according to the chairman who went on to say that, '*the workshop is attracting many applications from Arusha residents of various tribes*'. The group does not have a formal constitution but does elect its principal officers and holds regular monthly meetings to discuss issues.

Since establishing the group, the members have received a loan of 60,000T/sh from the MLYD. The group maintains close association with the regional and District Youth Officials who have given them encouragement and are trying to find additional sponsorship from donors, '*that is where donors land first and they connect us*'.

Their links with any other industry are limited as they rarely take their trainees to any other workshops. They obtain their raw materials by, collecting scrap themselves, or '*by buying from the street boys who collect beer cans etc and bring them to us*'. Sometimes they sell the scrap to other *dealers* to earn money.

The original members had learned how to cast metal by observing the process in foundry workshops owned by Asians. '*I went to train as a vehicle mechanic and in the area there was an enterprise dealing with smelting aluminium, so I just watched and later decided I should leave the motor mechanics and try to start my own work*' was how one of the founder members recalled. Not having been properly trained, the founder members considered that the most inhibiting factor for the group was a lack of specialist knowledge rather than capital equipment.

5.4.1.2 Marketing

The group do not go out in search of orders but wait for customers to approach them. They consider that people know where they are and their reputation and consider this to be sufficient. Sometimes people bring work that is too complicated for them to cope with. Here they identified the need for additional training to enable them to undertake work with a higher value added component.

When determining the price for the job they charged 2,500T/sh for an iron, which was originally fixed by negotiation, '*we are just selling so that we can at least get a small profit to avoid becoming loiterers*'. This was the method adopted for every new job. As the group operated on a day-by-day basis, they therefore did not see the need to keep any records of their work, '*our capacity is very small ... we do not have records of other things we have made*'.

5.4.1.3 Working practices

The site and facilities are extremely crude and there is no electricity or water connected to the premises. Inside the building the conditions are cramped and there is no extraction only a crude flue to remove the fumes when the furnace is lit. The actual casting tools, including the crucible were in good condition.

The members demonstrated the process by which they made the mould cavity which was correct, and later prepared the furnace and charged the crucible. The principal problem was the accumulation of fumes and heat in the building while the charge was being prepared.

The final product was of good quality and apart from the removal of the flashing, required little additional work.

5.4.1.4 Training policy and practices

The activities of the group are divided into those who collect scrap metal and the others who smelt and cast the saleable goods. Since the group began 6 members have been trained to smelt and cast, while the remainder have joined solely as collectors.

The method of training is essentially *observation, trial and error*, as the members considered that the casting process required little skill, '*the work is simple and because one has to do it everyday and by hand it does not require any teaching so it is simple to understand it*'.

5.4.1.5 Observations

The activities and attitudes of this group represented something of a paradox, as they identified a lack of knowledge and skills as a constraining factor, yet considered the process required little training. The overriding impression gained from observing and interviewing the 4 founder members was, that they were content and accepted the status quo. Their socio-economic needs were satisfied so they had no reason to seek additional work. The business was therefore orientated towards making a living, rather than the maximisation of profit. A further justification for the apparent lack of drive was an acknowledgement that without donor assistance they would be unable to develop and their chance of gaining assistance was very limited.

5.4.2 Pamoja Nguvu -Unga Ltd

Unga Ltd., is an area on the very edge of the town and the Pamoja Nguvu group operates from a plot of land containing a number of shanties enclosed by corral type fences, but without legal connection to utilities.

The regional official commented that in 1993 a number of groups were established dealing in metal products and metal recycling, but this was the only one that had survived. The group started in 1993 with each member contributing some capital and the intention was to manufacture grilles for windows etc. It started with 10 members, grew to 56, but now only 26 remain. Currently they subsist by dealing in scrap metal, although some welding work is undertaken. According to the chairman there were 6 girls in the original group, '*but were never seen again*'.

In essence the group could be called a commune, as they operate as individuals or small groups (2-3) within the area. Within the group there are 5 trainees who contribute to the purchase of materials, some of which they import from Nairobi. Materials unfortunately, can be easily stolen so, bolts, bearings etc are stored in the shanties for security.

5.4.2.1 Marketing

The consensus of the group was that they had attempted to gain work, '*by going around places*' (other industries) and trying to sell their scrap metal, but had little success. Welding work was more in demand, but was only carried out by one of the sub-groups. Custom was

gained by both personal recommendation and touting around the town. '*The things which are produced are sold on negotiations, and the scrap spares depend on their cost*' was the response to questions about how they derived a price for their work.

As they had started without any formal training, most members admitted that they were handicapped by an inability to identify possible products and markets other than the obvious. One member had successfully produced a grain mill from scrap material, but was unable to fix a price for the product. This was a one-off construction as all the components had been salvaged from scrap and it was unlikely that he could make another in the near future as '*it depends if I can find similar bits*'.

A lack of transport means that the price they receive for small quantities of scrap metal (25T/sh per Kg) is far less than they could expect if they sold it by the lorry-load (50T/sh per Kg).

5.4.2.2 Working practices

Little could be derived about their methods of operation as apart from the grain mill there was no manufacturing taking place. The area was however, covered with scrap metal some of which had been crudely sorted into automobile parts and other identifiable components which could be sold on.

5.4.2.3 Training policy and practices

The chairman of the group was a welder who had learned the skills from a friend who owned a garage. He had qualified after 1½ years, then worked in both the formal and informal sectors as a welder. He said he trained a number of apprentices including girls (although no trainees were in evidence) but his claim was supported by the Municipal Officer. He did not charge a fee, but expected trainees to do the same work as himself as soon as they were able, '*the members produce as they learn and they get paid*'.

Asked how he taught electric arc welding without an electricity supply, the chairman replied that they had applied to have electricity connected two years ago, but were still waiting and conceded that he had illegally connected to the nearest supply.

5.4.2.4 Observations

Although they have received little or no assistance from the state, other than the plot, the potential was there to develop a range of products from recycled materials. What is lacking, (apart from utility services) is knowledge, of materials, of markets, costing and possible method of gaining assistance.

The problems of this group are exacerbated by a lack of knowledge of the potential suitable outlets for their products/materials. This is in part due to their preference for individual/small group working, i.e. if the groups agreed to co-operate in selling their collective output then they would be able to hire the transport and secure the higher price. This is an example of subsistence existence, where the daily need to obtain money, overrides the co-operative accumulation of future corporate prosperity.

A further consideration is gender, girls do play an active role in the formation of groups, but appear to be the first to become disillusioned and leave. Comments relating to the problems of sustaining girls participation permeated discussions with operators and officials throughout the

field study. Suggestions for this generally focused on girls, lured by the possibility of gaining money who participate in the formation of a group, but faced with the reality of no external funding, only hard work, they become disillusioned and seek easier ways of making money.

5.4.3 Moshi Municipal Council

The Moshi activities began in 1987 with the grant of a piece of land to assist loiterers after the intervention of the town's MP. The area called Bomambuzi, is more locally known as the *bus stop* and is populated with a variety of motor vehicle trades, mechanics, welders, panel beaters etc. Over 20 enterprises in all are situated here, some are registered but a significant number are not and large garages and Jua Kali subsistence operators exist side-by-side.

There is no co-operative policy or structure and people work, as individuals, specialists in their field, e.g. radiator repairs, or in small groups. A significant feature of these groups is an affinity with the extended family.

In response to questions about raising capital to start operating, the consensus of opinion was that most money was forthcoming from family and close friends, or from selling assets, '*I started in the streets as a saidia fundi, Nguvu kazi gave me this working area only because fundis were told not to operate dispersed in the streets ... capital, that is your challenge to sort out as an individual, whether you sell your cow, or goat*'. They have not received any external funding, '*there were some people who passed around sometime in the past ... but we have never seen them again and since then we have never communicated with the government nor any donor*'. However, further discussions revealed that some operators had considered applying to SIDO but gave up, blaming the bureaucracy, '*I had to write a letter and fulfil other conditions which I found hard and so I just abandoned the idea*'. However, personal illiteracy was later admitted to be the real reason. Another group talked of registering specifically to obtain a loan to erect a security fence, but when they received the terms, they abandoned the idea.

Numerous Std VII leavers are trained in the area and most are the children of existing operators or their extended families. This preference is not without its problems, for many, based on past experience, viewed these trainees with suspicion for reasons aptly illustrated by the following quote. '*Some come there with high expectations and boast in front of their friends thinking they will get prosperous fast, but when they arrive they find that the job makes them very dirty (greasy) and the allowances they get are meagre. They are tempted to steal, and when there is no cash ... they steal spare parts which they sell and get money. Worse still, when the owner tries to warn them and care for their character, since they are relatives or children of friends, the learners rush to their parents and complain that they are being mistreated. This is bad because it often leads to enmity and mistrust between relatives or friends*'.

5.4.3.1 Marketing

The area is well established and as a consequence operators see no need to seek work. Trade is obtained through the long-distance bus and lorry companies as well as local residents. In general, the costing of work is an arbitrary, rule-of-thumb affair based on negotiation and little or no records are kept.

5.4.3.2 Working practices

During our visits, a diverse number of activities were observed. Personal safety was one facet of the working environment that was overlooked, when viewed from the perspective of the developed world. Operators carried out their tasks appearing totally unaware that there was a blow-torch only millimetres away from their leg or they were gas welding without goggles. In some respects their actions appeared to be bravado or part of the male ethos of the workplace.

However, adaptability and the ability to innovate and utilise a diverse array of apparently scrap materials made these artisans indispensable to those who patronise the community. A specific example was an almost complete rebuild of an awkwardly shaped exhaust box from a single piece of sheet metal, progressively shaped and welded until the job was completed.

Competencies such as these the artisans considered, were only learned in the informal sector and almost all the individuals interviewed considered that VTC trained artisans were unsuited to working in the informal sector. '*The college students concentrate on theory, and not on practicals, as a result, they're hopeless compared to our learners who do mainly practicals ... street mechanics are very good and not as lazy as those who come from colleges who are very proud, talk of their certificates and think they know much while in actual fact they know nothing*'. These beliefs were so vehemently held, that none of the operators would consider employing VTC trainees.

5.4.3.3 Training policy and practices

Only boys apply for training after completing Std VII, there was no evidence or mention of girls applying. The trainees take about 6 months to acquire the skills necessary to work with the minimum of supervision, but the time depends on the particular trade and the individual trainee. '*Some students are very bright and understand very fast*' said one operator and went on to relate that he had, '*one student who after only 4 days was already familiar with things like radiators etc*'.

The training is free and learners receive a small allowance but are not paid a wage, '*because they still live with their parents or relatives and so do not have to cater for their own food, shelter or clothing*'.

The training process is the same as previously described in the UMAGE and Mawenzi studies. Of note however is a number of people join as *journeymen (machinga)*, i.e. they have gained some skills but apprentice themselves to learn more advanced ones. There was evidence to suggest that some artisans consider recurrent training is important, '*one cannot say he has qualified because there are new skills entering the market everyday*' commented one 54 year old artisan adding, '*I am old, but there are many new things to learn yet*'.

5.4.3.4 Recurrent training

The above quotation succinctly draws attention to the need within the sector for regular upgrading of skills to enable them to adapt to the changing needs of the market-place. To cite the motor car as an example, older models are predominantly mechanically orientated in terms of servicing and repair, but as vehicles become more sophisticated, traditional methods of diagnosing faults and rectifying them will become obsolete as new techniques emerge. The corollary is that mechanics must gain these new skills or they will increasingly become marginalised only able to undertake the skilled, lower paid work.

Similarly as the materials employed in the construction of vehicles and other consumer products becomes ever more sophisticated, through the application of composite materials and alloying, artisans (welders, fitters mechanics panel beaters etc) require the knowledge and skills necessary to work these effectively

Situated in the town, the Centre for Informal Sector Promotion (CISP) began in 1990 is a joint project between URT/UNDP/ILO. The centre deals with 3 major areas, training, personnel and equipment with an emphasis on technical and managerial training. Admission is open to both genders but applicants must be qualified in a particular trade and centre offers assistance in metalworking, building materials, carpentry and food processing. However, the majority of participants to date have been male.

When the Centre started no fees were charged, but to sustain the project participants now pay 5,000T/sh (10% of the total cost). The courses are taught part-time, with 30 hours contact time for a full session, normally in 2 hour sessions to enable participants to continue their full-time operations.

Current estimates are that in the last 12 months about 500 people have completed the training, the target is 1,000 before the Centre is re-designated as an NGO. In terms of access to credit, about 15 entrepreneurs have so far gained assistance through the ILO directed, RYTE programme.

5.4.3.5 Observations

This group illustrates the high degree of skills many informal sector operators have developed of necessity and which represent the foundation for future growth. However, there is also a recognition that to adapt to change, recurrent training is necessary and the CISP offers only a partial solution to this problem. The other main concern highlighted in this study was the perceptions artisans held on VTC training and their very negative opinions about the capabilities and expectations of VTC trainees.

5.5 Other Nguvu kazi areas visited

In addition to the case studies presented a number of other interesting observations were made in and around Morogoro and Iringa where youth groups were engaged in a wide range of activities. However, only a very small number had gained assistance through the ILO or MLYD and consequently started operating by raising their own capital by borrowing from family, friends or selling their assets. Asked why they began or continued most responded that forming groups offered the possibility of subsistence activity, working for themselves, or that they had little choice. Most wanted training and funds to establish themselves, and nearly all had decided on their particular activity because it seemed to offer potential.

5.6 General conclusions and issues raised by the case studies

The studies were chosen to reflect the diversity of artisan activities within the informal sector, but whether rural or urban, large or small, all were faced with a number of similar problems and each study has attempted to focus on one or more of these.

Discrimination against women was a permeating feature and in some areas they were constitutionally barred, while in others the actions and prejudices of operators served as a

barrier. Pregnancy, or the fear of it, was also frequently quoted as the justification for preventing entry as operators considered that the time invested in the unfortunate girl would be wasted.

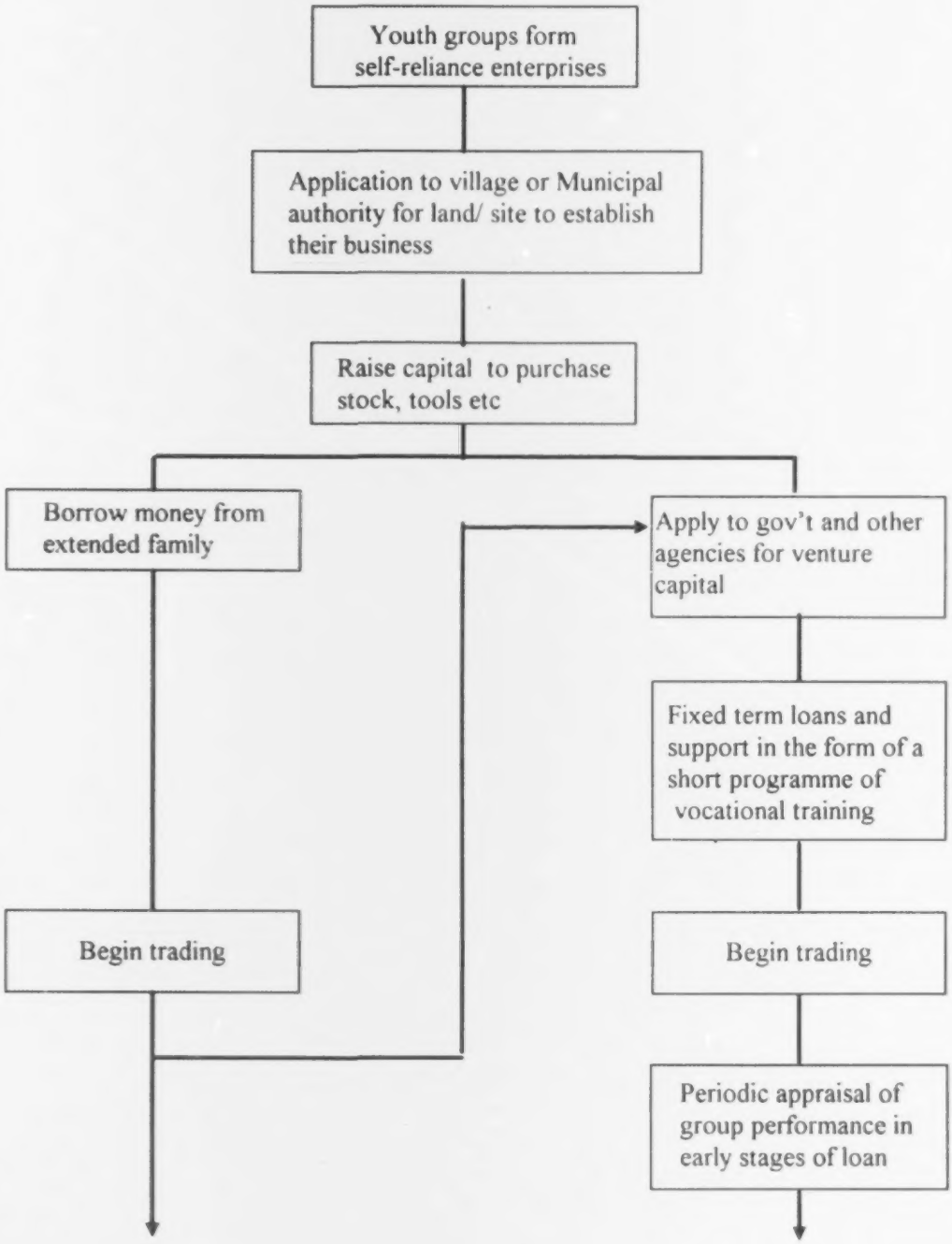
Another permeating feature was that many artisans are prejudiced against the VTC system, and therefore discrimination towards trade test graduates takes place. Artisans are critical of what they perceive as, cook-book theory orientated artisans ill-prepared for the working practices of the informal sector.

The formulation of legally constituted co-operatives and groups with democratically elected officers was part of the original Nguvu kazi programme and the evidence suggests that although groups still adhere to this in principle, in practice many individuals prefer to operate individually or in family groups for three reasons. The most prominent is the need to support the extended family, concerns about corruption and embezzlement by elected officials, (e.g. marketing/sales officers) and finally, there are the problems associated with ad hoc working practices, irregular hours and different socio-economic needs. The demands of the extended family in terms of money, influence and expectations are not easily met in the context of the corporate establishment. The fear of corruption is a direct result of a lack of communication, checks and balances in the system creating a distrust of '*middle men*' and non family members. In addition the cultural ethic is such, that short term prosperity is matched by absenteeism. This is a feature which permeates subsistence activities, as planning for the future is a concept largely missing from the work ethic of vast majority of the operators. This is one of the distinguishing characteristics which identifies the subsistence operator in comparison to the small scale operators who evince a different working ethic.

The transition from subsistence to small-scale operators appears to correspond to three factors, first a revised work ethic, characterised by a more formal approach to work, i.e. regularity of attendance etc, the second is the type of the work, (the demand for goods or services) and finally, the accumulation of profit to create capital. In practice this discounts many of the Nguvu kazi activities as they fail to fulfil the second factor which is an essential precursor to the third. Operators involved in activities where trade is expanding, i.e. motor vehicles and the manufacture of consumer goods, appear to have the most opportunity, but this in itself will not guarantee the necessary accumulation of profit. A key factor in maximising profit is to enlist a number of unpaid apprentices and by staggering this process, an operator can increase his profit, whilst spending the minimum time instructing the trainees. However, the operator frequently has little intention of reinvesting his capital in the business from which it was derived, the common practice is to diversify into other ventures that support short term high-yields. In part this is to ensure his long term survival in an uncertain economic climate, but also it represents a concerted effort to evade the problems of formal sector legislation and taxation if the company grows too large.

In providing plots under the Nguvu kazi programme the government/regional/local authorities were seen to be acting in the interests of the people. However, many of the locations that were visited were isolated from possible markets and lacked any amenities. Without assistance to establish themselves many groups perish, but in the current economic climate like the sharks teeth, as one group folds another is eager to take its place and try its luck.

The following diagram illustrates the Nguvu kazi process from the formation of groups to trading, and the mechanisms that exist to encourage growth through access to capital and specialised training as the enterprise develops.


Youth groups form self-reliance enterprises
Application to village or Municipal authority for land/ site to establish their business
Raise capital to purchase stock, tools etc
Borrow money from extended family
Apply to gov't and other agencies for venture capital
Fixed term loans and support in the form of a short programme of vocational training
Begin trading
Begin trading
Periodic appraisal of group performance in early stages of loan

It is worth reiterating that only a very small number of groups gain financial and technical assistance, e.g. RYTE supports 508 groups in 16 districts and the MLYD, 1717 groups in 20 districts, although not all receive financial assistance. Regardless of the sponsor, groups who

are judged to have mis-appropriated finds are automatically excluded from further participation in the programme and the assets of the group are seized.

When examining the composition of informal sector enterprises, there appears to be two distinct models, the first operates a policy of '*ring-fencing*' where entry is restricted to the extended family and close friends, the other which was mainly observed in Nguvu kazi groups, represents more of an '*open-door*' policy as the only barrier to entry is the joining fee.

Many of those interviewed made reference to the assistance given or promised by CCM or individual politicians, but in practice these amounted to little more than tokens to gain support. Examples cited were, visits to inaugurate a Nguvu kazi site or the allocation of land and in one instance the availability of short term loans. However disillusionment was apparent as for most, funding and promised capital equipment had not been forthcoming.

The majority of those Nguvu kazi operators interviewed started without any clear notion of how to operate a business, nor had they the capability to undertake a feasibility study to see if their intended activity would be viable, e.g. if they intended to rear and sell poultry, was there any other local suppliers and if so, what would be the effect on trade. One could not expect people (mainly educated to Std VII) to have the capability to envisage the need for such activities, but it exposes the inherent weaknesses in the system. Groups that have prospered as a result of assistance from the ILO, MLYD or SIDO are testimony that meaningful SR activities can only be achieved by providing a combination of physical resources, capital and the knowledge to effectively manage the enterprise.

A lack of marketing skills, especially in methods of promoting their goods and services inhibits many Nguvu kazi groups. The experience of how Kisokwe developed through promoting their products is an good example of economic benefits that such training can bestow. However, even here there is scope for expansion as they have yet to contact shops in towns, advertise in newspapers, or approach formal sector companies with their products.

Overall, levels of skill are very high but the artisans knowledge of materials and processes is in many instances virtually non existent. VIMEGRO operatives cast 'aluminium' but had only a vague notion that the composition of aluminium varied from product to product, depending on the application. Similarly blacksmiths and welders have very little knowledge of metallurgy and the importance of working metals at certain temperatures, or of selecting the correct welding rod, or the appropriate flame. Although it is acknowledged that many jobs do not require such knowledge, e.g. the fabrication of window grills, but when forging a piece of steel or welding a leaf-spring such knowledge is important for it directly effects the quality of the finished product, reliability and in some instances the safety of those who operate or use the product or service.

Some operators identified the need for recurrent training to expand their knowledge and skills. The problem is that little or no provision is available to support these people. The Kisokwe artisans went to the SIDO college at Tabora and there is the CISP in Moshi, but for most, there is no provision. FDC's were originally designated to undertake this kind of activity but, due to a shortage of funds and logistical problems many are unable to fulfil this function. For those in urban areas, VTC's operate Trade Test evening-schools and the MVTTC also runs courses. The problem is that VTC's are viewed with suspicion and therefore suffer from the

artisans reticence to attend, while artisans in rural areas due to their relative isolation, are dependent on donor support to send them on residential courses.

The prejudices of artisans towards VTC's also prevents many trainees from attending evening-school to study for national Trade Tests. This constrains the opportunity for trainees or journeymen (*machinga*) to gain the theoretical knowledge that would enable them to improve the quality of the products or service they provided.

Under the heading of training, a number of issues were raised, the nature of the training, exploitation, the absence of a theoretical base and the lack of formal recognition were all noted. Although training was necessary to ensure the future supply of skilled labour, the overriding concern was with production and trainees depending on the stage of their training were unpaid/underpaid artisans. Claims of exploitation were countered by the need to cover the cost of damage or possible loss of earnings due to the activities of trainees, yet during many observations there appeared little that trainees could damage that would cost a lot of money to repair or replace.

Some trainees expressed a concern that after completing their training no formal recognition was given to them in the form of certification. This caused concern as many intended to move around the country seeking work. This also raises the fundamental issue about what constitutes trade training and the need to define formal criteria. Currently, an alternative method of gaining trade skills is adopted by street boys who learn by observing and casually assisting the artisan. This is how the VIMEGRO enterprise began.

With the exception of SIDO no other agency appears to provided technical assistance nation wide. In general, the University and Technical Colleges are conspicuous by their absence, (although within the UDSM the Institute of Production and Innovation IPI do provide some asistance) yet have the potential in terms of knowledge and skills to promote enterprise and innovation among informal sector enterprises. These institutions could provide assistance, for example in designing new products or improving existing ones, i.e. brick making machines, charcoal stoves or agricultural implements, or identify potential markets.

These observations and the comments made by artisans and operators throughout this study have reinforced the belief that within the sector there exists the raw materials, i.e. skilled artisans who if properly assisted could play a significant role in the future socio-economic development of the country. Many of the artisans have demonstrated their potential as innovators, trainers and entrepreneurs, but by their own admission, they are constrained by a lack of knowledge.

6. Training: Policies and Practices

In chapter 3 an overview of the various types of training provision was presented and a précis of the characteristics of provision was provided. This chapter considers each individual type of formal provision, NVTC, Church VTC, FDC, PPTC and Private as a series of case studies.

The study is based on visits to 45 providers in fifteen of the twenty-one regions. The principal reason for not extending the study to any of the other regions, was simply that data collected in the early part of the study indicated that there were no training institutions which catered for mechanical or electrical trades in these areas.

However the sample is in many ways comprehensive, i.e. visits were made to all seven NVTC's that provide training in motor vehicle, truck, or diesel mechanics, agromechanics, electrical installation, electronics, fitter mechanics and welding and fabrication. Similarly only 5 of the 52 FDC's provided training in metal trades and these were visited. The sample included 11 PPTC's and the selection was based on the available MEC data, while information about church organisations was derived from the CCT. To further enhance the data collected the views of REO's and DEO's were sought.

6.1 National Vocational Training Centres (NVTC's)

In Tanzania ,moves to unify formal sector training began in 1968 with the introduction *of 'The National Vocational Training Programme'* (NVTP) with assistance from UNDP/ILO. The programme represented a concerted effort, to establish a vocational training centre in Dar es Salaam, with in-plant training programmes and an improvement in trade testing. However, it was not until 1972 that Parliament passed the first Training Act which defined the nature and structure of vocational training for the formal sector. The legislation enabled the creation of The National Vocational Training Council (NVTC), with a mandate to co-ordinate vocational training programmes throughout the country. One of NVTC's principal objectives, *'to protect one craft against interlopers from another craft (e.g. carpenters may have attempted to carry out the work of painters'*. This Act was followed two years later by a second Vocational Training Act 1974 (Act number 28) that aimed to ensure that enough workers with the requisite skills were available in the right place, at the right time, to efficiently perform the jobs needed to be done and to provide better opportunities for individuals to develop their skills and use their abilities to the full.

In support of these aims the National Vocational Training Division (NVTD) was established within the Ministry of Labour and Manpower Development. NVTD operates as an executive body, advising Ministers on matters of policy and exercising control over; basic vocational training and in-plant and apprenticeship programmes, trade testing (including evening upgrading courses), the inspection and registration of vocational institutions, instructor training and finally, curriculum development and the approval of training syllabi used by registered training institutions. It is worth noting that in political terms training institutions *'affiliated'* to NVTD are considered to be biased towards preparing students for formal sector employment.

To facilitate the perceived increases in formal sector manpower, the government has relied on the international donor community to provide financial and technical assistance. For example in 1977 the Swiss began working with the Chang'ombe Vocational Training Centre in Dar es Salaam. Similarly DANIDA and SIDA currently the principal donors, began providing assistance around this time. In addition both the World Bank (IBRD) and UNDP have contributed funds to equip training centres, while in 1974, CIDA introduced '*Saturday-Training*' an instructor programme the precursor to the Morogoro Vocational Teachers Training College (MVTTC), funded by SIDA and the IBRD. In terms of providing financial assistance Lauglo (1990) states that during the mid-to-late 1980's, international donors contributed on average 75% of all capital expenditure and 29% of recurrent expenditure. In contrast the government's contribution in addition to providing some of the recurrent funding has largely consisted of providing land and the requisitioning of property suitable for building or, converting into training centres.

Government concerns that donor support may be reduced or even withdrawn have permeated URT-donor discussions over the years. The reliance the government has historically placed on the international community can best be quantified in the following abstract from a URT report that noted that donor support, '*should be available on a continuing basis as a means of not only supporting the importation of basic training equipment but also in meeting the foreign exchange component for the importation of spare parts*' (URT 1987). Times change, as does economic philanthropy and by the early 1990's international donors began to redefine their priorities. '*Drip-feed*' economics began to be replaced by initiatives designed to encourage greater self-reliance. In responding to these concerns, the government intends to generate the revenue necessary to maintain the national vocational training programme by legislation. The Vocational Training Act 1994 imposed a vocational and training levy of '*2% of the total gross monthly emoluments*' on all employers with four of more employees, that was introduced in January 1995.

The registration and collection of the levy is not proving to be an easy task despite a major publicity campaign, for according to a VETA Official (interviewed in December 1995), after first nine-months (January-September), only about 2,500 of the expected 10,000 companies were registered. The difficulties appear to be threefold; interpreting the legislation, inter-agency communication and finally, logistical.

A number of complex legal wrangles exist over who should contribute to the levy, the Act exempts some organisations on the grounds of being non-profit-making, i.e. educational establishments, religious organisations, or those who receive their funds from central government or donors. However, some of these organisations do make a profit, e.g. the YMCA and other similar hostels and this is indicative of the type of problems still to be resolved.

By far the major problem is the lack of effective communication between the various government agencies, as in addition to VETA two other agencies are involved, the National Provident Fund (NPF) who have been instructed to contact and register companies and the Parastatal Provident Fund (PPF). The NPF operates as the central agency for the collection of tax through a pay-as-you-earn (PAYE) system. However, in the case of parastatals it is the PPF who has traditionally acted as the taxation agency. In practice this means that information about parastatals (including those in the process of privatisation) has to be relayed through

VETA to the NPF for actioning. Adding to this confusion many parastatals are effectively bankrupt and unable to contribute to the levy.

The final reason given for the low number of businesses registered is logistical. The NPF in its role of tax collector has about 15,000 businesses registered. Unfortunately due to the nature of the legislation, (i.e. exemptions and the difficulties noted earlier) it is not a simple matter of transferring the existing data and adding the relevant PPF files. The authorities consider the levy register to be a new data base and has instructed inspectors to collect the necessary information, by visiting employers. Here lies the problem, for according to the VETA Officer, the NPF has neither the capacity of manpower, nor the transport to effectively and efficiently carry out the task.

6.1.1 Funding

In addition to the funds provided by the government, some centres receive addition funds from a number of international donors, while a percentage of the budget is derived from self-reliant activities. In addition students are charged fees ranging from 15,000 to 60,000T/sh per annum. However, a lack of funds is still considered to be the principal constraint within the system.

6.1.2 Resourcing

The fabric of the majority of the centres visited was very good, while some were in need of, or were under refurbishment. The amenities again reflected the prosperity of the centre, for where donor support was strong, the facilities were very good. These centres had well equipped classrooms, laboratories, workshops, libraries and other facilities, while those less financially endowed operated with more basic amenities, '*there is no library and hardly any books ... and the few copies are in English which are too hard for students to undertake, or for the teachers to translate*', or plant and other equipment lay idle due to a lack of maintenance and spare parts, '*there is various equipment, five engines - 3 diesel and working, while the 4th is dead, there are 3 petrol engines, but only one is in working order*'. Teaching aids (models, diagrams etc) were in evidence and used in all of the centres visited.

6.1.3 Enrolment

The centres operate a policy of equality of opportunity and encourage girls by operating a quota system. The minimum entry requirement is Std VII although increasing numbers of Form IV leavers are applying. Entry is based on a common entrance examination set and marked by NVTD followed by an interview, '*since there are too many applicants there is an interview and a selection test from headquarters*'. Sometimes prospective students are selected by REO's based on Std VII results, this method of selection represents about 60% of the intake the remainder is divided between private applications and formal sector employees.

Almost every centre indicated that girls were most attracted towards electrical trades and that their performance matched, or bettered their male peers. However, enrolment rates within centres was only 20 to 30%, yet aptitude tests indicate that, '*the students performance show that they are not very different*'. Girls are being encouraged to opt for traditionally male dominated trades such as, machine fitting, motor vehicles etc. In Dodoma the centre provides a special Guidance and Counselling Officer to assist girls in selecting the most suitable course.

Estimates of the drop-out rates for students ranged from less than 3% to under 7% per annum. The reasons given for drop-out were, parental pressure (hardship, social problems etc),

inappropriate behaviour, poor academic performance or attendance. Pregnancy was not considered to be a problem.

6.1.4 Curriculum and pedagogy

NVTD training is based on a four-year model: the first year in a vocational training centre is followed by three years of apprenticeship training within the industry, although for a small number of trades the initial centre based training is increased by two years with a subsequent change in the length of apprenticeship training. The objective is for trainees to pass the Grade III Trade Test after one year of basic and one year of in-plant training, the Grade II after two years in-pant training and finally the Grade I after three years in-plant training.

The curriculum is comprised of; practical-theory calculation, technical drawings, science, English, Kiswahili and Civics (due to the adoption of a multi-party political system) rather than Political Education. The recommended timetable allocates 60% of time to practical trade training and 40% to theoretical studies. However, every subject is not afforded equal weighting, for the emphasis is placed on trade theory, calculations, science and technical drawing. The current syllabi excludes any provision for training in entrepreneurial skills. Although, a senior NVTD administrator thought that some training institutions recognising the importance of the informal sector, '*also equipped* (their students) *with some management skills although not explicitly stipulated in the curriculum*' and stressed that one of the outcomes of the 1994 legislation, '*would be to include management training ... introducing some business skills in the programme for example accounting, book-keeping etc*' as part of a more broad-based curriculum.

The first year centre based instruction is divided into two terms. *First Term* This is a 20 week period, in which the trainees deal with practical work, theory-teaching, general subjects, job-orientation, career guidance and maintenance culture. *Second Term* During the second term the trainees are taught general subjects which are trade-related, including Engineering Science, Calculations and Technical Drawing.

The qualifications of instructors ranged from Trade Test Grade I to Graduate level and a number of staff had attended the MVTTC for specialist instructors training. Although there were women teachers/instructors at the centres, none were involved in teaching the trades which were the focus of the study.

A number of classroom observations were made and the quality of teaching was judged to range from very good to poor. A good classroom performance was not in any way dependent on attendance at the Morogoro college, as the most competent practitioner had no formal training, while the worst example observed was fully qualified.

A general observation was that instructors tended to follow a prescribed text without recourse to other pedagogy and this resulted in a contrived lesson which was often inappropriate, e.g. an instructor took 40 minutes to explain the difference between a single cut and a double cut file. This activity was out of context and would have been more effective as a demonstration in a workshop. However skills work in the workshop tended to be well managed, with self motivated students mostly on task. The most disconcerting aspect of the practical activities witnessed, was that students had little opportunity for creativity, as many of the tasks merely involved the acquisition of core skills. The exception to this was in vehicle mechanics, where students were involved in problem solving, a requisite skill.

There is little opportunity for students to gain experience of the culture of the workplace they will be joining on the completion of their studies, as no provision is made in the programme of study for work experience.

6.1.5 Links with employers

Very few of the centres which were visited had established any links with employers or local industries, motor vehicle mechanics appeared to have the most opportunities to establish contact with both formal and informal sector garages.

6.1.6 Self-reliant activities

Agriculture figures prominently in the SR activities of many of the centres visited. Some have attempted 'production centres', but the quality of the products manufactured by the students is generally low and therefore little income is generated. One donor has actually discouraged self reliance, *'the centre has no activities for self reliance ... the donors categorically refused ... they feel that if allowed the teachers and students would be more absorbed in the income generating activities, at the expense of the academic work'.*

More enterprising attempts to raise funds include, letting centre facilities to employers to conduct in service training, running short courses for local farmers and artisans and encouraging people from the locale to bring items in for repair.

6.1.7 Qualifications

Throughout the programme the students are continuously assessed on performance in practical skills and in theory and in a summative examination for the Trade Tests. The success rate of students examined for Trade Test III varied considerably between institutions and courses. Failure is normally attributed to poor performance in the theory paper. *'There are trainees who go through the course but in the end fail to get the minimum requirements for a certificate. A trainee might get 'A's in all the subjects but if he gets an 'E' in the practicals or trade theory he does not get a certificate. An overall average of a 'D' without an 'E' in the two subjects named above allows for a certificate and this shows that the general averaging system doesn't apply in this case.'*

6.1.8 Employment

In the past there were plenty of jobs in formal sector industries, and employers used to visit the institutions, conduct interviews and employ the successful candidates. However, as industrial capacity declines, the institution has come under pressure to review its policy and focus on courses that will lead to self employment. One institution successfully placed 73% of its graduates in 1991, by 1994 this number had reduced to 17%, while another centre reported a similar trend, 56% to 12% in the same period. Many Principals reported that increasing numbers were absorbed in the informal sector though not necessarily working in the trade for which they were trained. This development is creating concern among Principals about the long term effects on student morale.

According to a senior officer at NVTD, the authorities are aware of this problem and he reported that a number of measures had been attempted to alleviate youth employment difficulties. For example, *'there have been instances where graduates in the centres have organised themselves into groups and gone back to the centres for help, e.g. in getting land, loans, etc. Most of them have been assisted, although some difficulties have been experienced*

with carpenters and masons who want to be given contracts and not jobs (wage labour) since they find the former more profitable'.

6.1.9 Conclusions and issues

These institutions are aligned to the needs of the formal sector and are relatively well equipped and fulfil their role of supplying suitably trained labour. However in the changed economic situation, the students are experiencing severe difficulties in gaining employment and their training and expectations are not always suited for the informal sector.

Principals are aware of these problems and realise that there is a need to adapt or realign the curriculum to assist the students gain employment/self employment in the informal sector. Only one Principal however was planning to introduce, '*entrepreneurial business skills, to enable graduates to employ themselves rather than being trained for the formal sector*'.

6.2 Folk Development Colleges (FDC's)

The Folk Development Colleges were introduced by the government as institutions for training rural people for useful service to their communities, to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of productive labour and in so doing improve the quality of life for all. Government policy was to establish an FDC in each district between 1975 and 1980 with the co-operation of the Swedish Government through the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA).

The origins of FDCs can be traced back to adult education programmes which were introduced in the five years after independence based on the Swedish Folk High School model. The first three-year Development Plan (1961/62 to 1963/64) heralded the introduction of Farmers Training Centres (FTCs) which were administered by the Ministry of Agriculture to provide short courses of between one and three weeks to introduce farmers to new developments in agricultural practice. In 1965 District Training Centres (DTCs) were introduced to, '*improve the training of teachers in literacy programmes and community leaders for self-help projects and women's groups*' (Unsicker 1987). The DTCs were administered by the Community Development Division of the Ministry of Rural Development and Regional Administration. As both the FTCs and DTCs were established to fulfil the similar roles, i.e. to act as change agents, responsive to the needs and perceived problems of the communities which they served, in 1968 they were combined and renamed Rural Training Centres (RTCs), later to be designated Folk Development Colleges (FDC's) and placed under the control of the Ministry of National Education in 1975. According to Mosha (1991), the FDCs constituted the third stage of adult education in Tanzania, by providing institutions which incorporated both literacy skills and vocational skills. The preceding stages saw the eradication of adult illiteracy programmes and the consolidation of functional literacy programmes.

In 1982 the Presidential Commission on Education recommended that, '*FDC's should at the moment continue to be under the Ministry of Education, but in conjunction with the Ministry in charge with Regional Development ways and means should be sought to put the FDCs under either town city or district councils*'. As a consequence in July 1990 responsibility for the FDCs was transferred to the Ministry of Local Government, Community Development, Co-operatives and Marketing, later that same year coming under the direction of the Ministry of Community Development, Woman's Affairs and Children.

The 1992 study revealed that syllabi were available for the following nine subjects; Agriculture and Livestock Development, Carpentry, Motor Mechanics, Culture, Domestic Science/Home Economics, Accountancy/Book-keeping, Economics, Political Education and Mathematics. Each had been produced by groups of individuals selected and funded by the Ministry of Education and were developed by in 1988 with the exception of Mathematics, which was introduced in 1989. The centrally orientated nature of curriculum design prevents any significant autonomy for FDCs to adapt to the needs of their communities. However, official figures indicate that just under 130,000 people had received training at FDCs of which 63.5% (about 82,500) were male and 36.5% (47,400) female and that 75% of FDC graduates return to their villages after training of which 71% utilise the knowledge and skills acquired.

In recent years some FDCs have introduce courses that led to students gaining NVTD Trade Tests grade III in carpentry, sewing and masonry etc, which traditionally have been associated with wage employment, rather than for self-employment and this has led to criticism from many quarters (ILO/Labour 1988).

6.2.1 Funding

Principals of the centres visited acknowledged the assistance of SIDA in the training of instructors and with the refurbishment of the buildings. However, there was general concern about the low level of financial support given by the government, which had resulted in centres having to introduce training fees. Through the recently introduced policy of cost-sharing, centres are now forced to charge trainees, on average 25,000T/sh per year, but this was not thought to affect enrolment as it is less than half of the fee charged by VTC's.

6.2.2 Resourcing

With the exception of Kibaha which had very good facilities and amenities, the others suffered from a lack of planned preventative maintenance that determined the types of courses that centres could run, '*more students choose carpentry and masonry because they have facilities*' commented one principal. In addition a shortage of specialist teachers also influenced the promotion of courses. It is worth noting that the centres visited were selected on the basis of offering mechanical and electrical trades training, yet when visited many had no suitable facilities, specialist teachers or both. One centre that did run a course was forced to secure practical training with local artisans when the teacher left. This was not without its problems, as a lack of transport prevented staff from monitoring activities '*so no one goes to follow up ... the trainees do whatever the fundi (welder) gets contracted by customers*'. The implication for the centres is that they remain supply-side orientated rather than demand driven institutions.

6.2.3 Enrolment

The system for selecting students is convoluted involving a number of Regional and District Officers touring the villages selecting sufficient students to match the college quota (defined by the Principal). Although there is no equal opportunities policy, all the centres allocate a specific number of places to girls. '*There is a deliberate effort to convince the men to take female oriented courses and the vice versa*'. In order to increase the opportunities for the girls to study, some of the centres offer out-reach courses. However, one centre said they experienced difficulties in attracting female students. All the centres enrolled more males than females, the ratios ranging from all male to 2:1. However, comments such as '*girls do not have the interest and so do not do well*' suggest that while centres operated a quota policy, some people considered that efforts and resources were mis-directed. The main criteria for enrolment is that students must be Std VII leavers. Some of the colleges operate boarding

facilities, while others have a mix of day students and boarders. One Principal supported the boarding system, as it ensured high attendance.

Only two institutions provided information about drop-out rates which were both about 10% per annum. The reasons given were pregnancy and lack of motivation.

6.2.4 Curriculum and pedagogy

Most of the centres were beginning to use the recently devised syllabi produced in conjunction with MVTTC. This enables them to prepare their students for national trade tests, but some courses still employed the old syllabi.

The programmes of study are divided into 40% theory, 60% practical, but no lessons were observed. The instruction is provided by teachers with a wide range of qualifications from graduate, to certificate level. The number of women teachers employed by each centre varied. The provision of classroom resource materials varies from institution to institution. At Kibaha for example, they have portable teaching aids and illustration sheets which can be taken into the classroom. If the teacher wants to teach about the ignition system for example, he can interfere with the firing order of the engine, and then ask the student to find and define the fault and rectify it. This is unfortunately the exception, the others are less well equipped.

In some centres there is an awareness of the need for relevance in teaching and an acknowledgement that in practical activities scenarios must reflect real life situations as students, do not normally have the opportunity for an industrial placement, '*to compensate, the teachers collaborate to plan the practicals in such a way, that it gives the students a clear picture of their future jobs*'.

6.2.5 Links with employers

Only one of the centres had established links with employers, a garage where students gain practical experience. The students attend from 8 to 10 am and are supervised jointly by their teachers and the artisans. The number of visits depends on the length of the topic and the garage are paid for their time. Other principals recognise the value of links but for logistical reasons, this is not possible, '*much as the institution would like the trainees to get industrial experience, we have no ability to transport them*' lamented one respondent.

However, each of the centres was involved in a range of community based activities that promoted the ethos of the FDC movement. One centre claimed to have developed close ties with local primary schools, e.g. Boko but did not elucidate on this and also to assist the women in the neighbouring villages, to maintain milling machines and other income-generating activities.

Trainers and trainees from one college go into the villages to do practicals and to help the villagers gain knowledge and was seen as an attempt to create job opportunities for students when they graduate.

Another dimension of FDC activities has been to provide short courses for the ILO funded Rural Youth and Training Groups. The courses range from leadership, literacy, loans management, technical skills, to business skills etc.

6.2.6 Self-reliant activities

Each centre promotes its own activities based on the resources and facilities available, although agriculture was common to all, while two specifically sell carpentry products manufactured by the students.

6.2.7 Qualifications

The courses range from 6 months to 2 years depending on the type of programme. Centres generally operate a dual system of assessment, i.e. continuous assessment during the programme and a summative one that may also involve students taking an NVTD trade test. For short courses students receive a certificate of attendance that does not relay academic achievement, while students who have completed longer courses may gain both a certificate of attendance that includes an academic record and the trade certificate. However, as one Principal remarked, '*FDC certificates of attendance are not recognised by the formal labour market, because the aim is to train them so as to be self-employed, especially in the rural sector*'.

6.2.8 Employment

The general consensus of Principals was (to quote one respondent) that '*most graduates retire to their respective villages and share their experience with villagers*' and only a few '*flock to towns*'. They consider that the system is so organised that students selected for training are gainfully employed when they return to the village. However, due to the problems of accurate data collection, (as few records were kept by the Colleges) it was impossible to verify the actual destination of graduates, i.e. how many returned to the village and settled, compared to those who appeared to return, but later migrated to the town.

6.2.9 Conclusions and issues

The success of individual FDC's appears to depend heavily on the degree of donor support. Two of the five visited were well provided for and this was reflected in the resources and provision available. Conversely, the other two centres were struggling to maintain a presence. This was reflected in the range of courses, centres were able to provide. However, some had been enterprising, either through careful planning or necessity and involved artisans within the locale in the training process.

The impression gained from the visits was that centres attempted to involve students in activities which reflected the marketplace. The range of activities was diverse and reflected the nature of the institutions. However absent from their training was instruction in design, book-keeping, estimating, or marketing, the skills essential for self-employment in the informal sector.

The reasons for drop-out were similar to those experienced by other providers. Female participation in some of the centres was high but frequently participation was concentrated in gender stereotyped trades, although most Principals agreed that the numbers opting for male orientated trades, was increasing, '*slowly*'. However, as no follow up was made of graduates it is impossible to comment on whether female artisans gained employment.

Principals considered that the introduction of Trade Tests, traditionally the key to blue-collar formal sector employment had not fuelled urban migration, but strengthened the level of skill in rural areas. If this is the case then the FDC's are partially fulfilling the role for which they

were introduced. The problem is that changes in the system of funding, coupled with the gradual withdrawal of donor support could undermine this limited success.

6.3 Post Primary Technical Centres (PPTC's)

Post Primary Technical Centres (PPTCs) were conceived by CCM as one of a number of measures devised to combat the increasing rural migration of young people to urban centres. The initiative was introduced in 1973 with the aim of providing Primary School leavers with the skills and attitudes necessary for employment/self-employment in their locale. The PPTC programme was very ambitious, for the policy makers envisaged the establishment of four centres in each district, (a grand total of approximately 400 centres), each providing a two-year programme of instruction in four trades: Domestic Science, Carpentry, Masonry and Tinsmithy. Classes of 25 were expected and institutions would cater for a total population of approximately 200 students.

Within three years 278 centres had been established, funded by both DANIDA and the Ministry of Education (MEC). PPTC's however reached a zenith in terms of the number of centres in 1987 when 316 were formally registered but only 284 were still providing some form of training. However within five years of there inception there was a growing realisation that the PPTC's were not achieving their intended goals. The aspirations of the policy makers were never realised, for the policy was fundamentally flawed for the following reasons, the high recurrent cost of resourcing the centres, a lack of suitably trained teachers/instructors and inappropriate training programmes, all of which contributed to a lack of credibility among the local population and in particular the young people for whom the centres were devised.

The principal reason cited for the lack of credibility was the, '*syllabi do not cover the skills essential for self employment nor do they actually prepare students for self-employment.*' (CCT 1977), comments that were reflected in an ICD report published in 1983 stating, '*only 4 out of 19 regions covered had over 25-30% enrolment*'.

Strategies to alleviate the malaise which has dogged the PPTC's since there introduction, have been the subject of numerous studies and reports by the Tanzanian government, (MEC and ICD) both independently and in conjunction with international donors (DANIDA, SIDA and GTZ). All have reiterated the causes, which are, a system lacking in direction and funding, but little or no progress appears to have been achieved, to alleviate the plight of the PPTC's. In terms of direction, investigators point to a fundamental flaw in the original policy, a lack of research into rural needs prior to the establishment of the centres which resulted in the arbitrary training of young men and women for occupations for which there may be little or no local market. One of the first multi-agency reports that specifically addressed the plight of the PPTC's considered there was an, *'urgent need for reorientation ... a comprehensive study ... with full peoples' involvement*' as to the requirements, '*the objectives, curricula and equipment for running courses ... as well as the economic aspects of Post-Primary Transformation Training*' (URT, DANIDA, SIDA, GTZ 1978).

6.3.1 Funding

In the fight to maintain the viability of PPTC's and by implication to sustain the courses they offer, one of the centres visited expected parents to purchase the tools and equipment necessary to enable their children to undertake some practical activities. In return, the products manufactured (in metalwork for example, cooking stoves, funnels and jugs) are

deemed the property of the parents, who can offer them for sale. Parental funding of PPTC activities represents a pragmatic method of enabling pupils to gain the practical experience they will need if they are to practice their trade in the marketplace. For although Municipal Councils are legally responsible for funding PPTC's, the reality is that, the under-funded local authorities are unable to provide the money to cover even the recurrent costs, let alone for books and resource materials to enhance the quality of teaching.

6.3.2 Resourcing

In all but 3 of the 11 centres visited, the fabric of the building was in a state of severe disrepair, and in those centres with an electrical supply, there was an alarming disregard for electrical safety. The fabric of the buildings, furniture and equipment, tools and teaching resources were totally inadequate and in need of refurbishment, or in some cases non existent. In the majority of centres DANIDA and SIDA had supplied tools and equipment in the early-mid 1970's. However, since that initial 'pump-priming' donation, many Headteachers and teachers said they had not received any new equipment. In addition many schools were unable to make effective use of the machines as they were not connected to the electricity supply. As a consequence, many electrical machines were either stored, stripped of vital parts or simply stolen.

6.3.3 Enrolment

Although all were striving to achieve the same goals, significant differences were found in the problems encountered by rural and urban centres in the battle to recruit. PPTC's were originally introduced to combat growing youth migration, yet Regional and District Education Officers (REO's and DEO's) and Headteachers in rural areas expressed their profound difficulty in eliciting support from the villages and as a consequence encouraging young people to enrol. There was a general consensus among teachers and EO's that many of the students who enrolled only did so as a last resort and were not the most academically able. '*Most of those who opt to join PPTC's are failures and have no alternatives as they either come from poor families or, parents who have no value for education*', was how one DEO profiled the students.

As there is no competition for places, all but two of the centres visited had adopted essentially an open-door policy of enrolment, the majority of students merely turn-up and sign on. The exception to this was that two centres maintained a policy of pre-testing students in Science, Mathematics and English. However, in terms of measurable statistics, (i.e. gender mix, drop-out rates and numbers of graduates) there appears to be no discernible differences between these and the other centres surveyed.

Enrolment and drop-out rates in all the centres was congruent to the national trend. Headteachers of all the centres acknowledged that enrolment was well below intended capacity and regardless of geographical location, sought to justify the reasons for their poor performance by reiterating and berating a lack of suitable resources or, the lure of the town as '*almost half of them abscond and try their luck somewhere else*' commented one Headteacher.

None of the centres visited had a formal policy relating to gender. Most simply stated that students were encouraged to select the course of training that most appealed to them. Two centres claimed that they provided pre-placement guidance and counselling for parents and prospective students. This was aimed, '*to help parents in advising their children, but not to*

force them to take courses they are not interested in'. Only in two trades Domestic Science and Masonry was there evidence to suggest that a student's gender significantly influenced their choice of course. '*Girls are usually interested in domestic science courses rather than in metal works etc*'. The Carpentry and Tinsmithy courses were with one exception found to consist mainly of male students, although one teacher commented, '*once there was a girl for metalwork and she was quite capable, at times even doing better than the boys*'. The exception was in an urban centre where the female - male student ratio was 2 : 1 (10 & 5) in the first year and 1:1 (4 & 4) in the second year. The centre acknowledged that its geographical position was detrimental to its ability to attract and maintain a large cohort of male students. Conversely females were motivated to opt for the metalwork course '*because they can get jobs after completing the course*', i.e. there is a perceived shortage of metalworkers in the area.

6.3.4 Curriculum and pedagogy

All the centres employed the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) syllabi as the basis for developing programmes of study. The courses are of 2 years duration and although the vast majority the centres visited offered training in all four trades, Domestic Science, Carpentry, Masonry and Tinsmithy, many acknowledged that due to a lack of students they only ran courses in some of the trades. Such an *ad hoc* approach to enrolment had in some cases resulted in students being taught by teachers, unqualified in that particular trade.

Students were taught by teachers who in most instances had gained NVTD Trade Test Grade III or better and attended Teachers Training College, gaining certified teacher status. However, in a number of instances, REO's expressed concern that some of the blame for the poor performance of students should be attributed to the quality and level of training of the teacher-instructors. '*There are no Grade A teachers from Teacher-Technical Education Institutions. This makes the teaching of a poor quality*'. This represents a very simplistic answer, for teacher effectiveness in his interpretation is solely derived from academic achievement.

Many teachers expressed concern that syllabi first issued in the mid 1970's, amended slightly in the late 70's were still being used. Headteachers, teachers, REO's and DEO's, in addition to their calls for the replacement/ refurbishment of tools and equipment drew attention to the almost total neglect of resource materials. In those centres which had some text books, all were outdated and the texts did not necessarily correlate with the syllabus. Overall, no centre employed text books specifically written or recommended to support the syllabi. Some centres admitted that they sometimes used class seven books to support their PPTC teaching. Scenarios such as this led one REO to comment, '*PPTC's are essential but the Government has decided to give these a blind eye*'. Little wonder that morale among the majority of teachers was very low.

There was common consent among teachers that the strategies they employed in teaching PPTC students was little different to those used to teach Std VII pupils. One Headteacher commented, '*students don't have any incentives as they don't get anything different from their fellow students in the ordinary primary schools beside the knowledge in their heads*'. Teachers did not appear to acknowledge that there was a need to adopt differing styles/strategies, nor that this may also be a contributing factor in terms of low enrolment and high drop-out rates. In addition many of the teachers interviewed had taught for over ten years

at the same institution, during which time they had received little or no inservice training to enhance or upgrade their pedagogical skills.

In only two of the centres, teachers had made positive efforts to encourage pupils by producing a range of examples, consisting of both in-progress and finished work for use as resource materials/teaching aids. Both centres were cited in urban areas.

Observations of practical classroom/workshop teaching was limited to four centres and involved both Carpentry (three lessons) and Tinsmithy (one lesson). In each case, the commitment shown by both the teachers and students was very commendable. In the Carpentry activities students were observed carrying out both 'core skills' development and the manufacture of a range of artefacts, while in Tinsmithy, students were learning the core skill of soldering two pieces of sheet metal together. Unfortunately in many of the other centres visited students were either absent (absconded), or idle due to a lack of suitable tools and materials.

The method almost universally adopted for core-skills was a process consisting of, *talk -chalk-demonstration-practice*. A similar process was employed in preparing students to manufacture artefacts, *talk -chalk drawings-practice*.

In terms of relevance the activities of very few of the centres visited suggested that relevance was prominent in their programmes of study. In the two that did this, relevance was implied in the production of consumer goods.

6.3.5 Links with employers

None of the centres had links with local employers or the community in general.

6.3.6 Self-reliant activities

This had been attempted by one centre but was deemed to have failed, as the products produced by the students were of a poor quality and therefore did not sell. Approaches to teachers to produce goods for sale was rejected.

6.3.7 Qualifications

At the end of the second year students take a series of tests consisting of both theoretical and practical components and to be awarded a certificate, students must pass both components. The theoretical papers are marked by teachers at the school, while the practical work is invigilated by external personnel. To facilitate the practical components of the test, some centres received assistance from the Municipal Council, who supplied both the tools (on a loan basis) and the necessary materials. This practice is not universal, and here lies the dilemma for centres, as one Headteacher confessed, '*students only sat the theoretical tests due to a lack of suitable tools and materials*'. Centres, poorly resourced to train the students for the course are scarcely able to teach the programmes of study, nor give them the necessary practical experience to prepare them to take the test. In such circumstances, without external assistance to facilitate the development of practical capability prior to the test, the validity of the training is surely questionable.

One further aspect of contention is the value/credibility of the Interim Certificate of Basic Training awarded to graduates. Many of the PPTC teachers promote the notion among their pupils that this certificate is equivalent to the NVTD Trade Test Grade III. Yet written on the

certificate is a disclaimer, '*is NOT equivalent to any trade test certificate*'. Is this a case of teachers attempting to encourage and motivate their students or, merely misrepresentation. On a more positive note, many Municipal Councils have recently adopted a policy of presenting graduates with a kit of tools (for Carpentry a tape measure, saw and plane) and or, providing facilities to start-up informal enterprises, i e. Nguvu kazi sites.

6.3.8 Employment

The vast majority of pupils/graduates expressed a preference for self-employment. Headteachers and teachers maintain that many of their graduates entered the marketplace as self-employed artisans. However, as no official records are kept on the destination of graduates, and no attempt is made to monitor their progress in subsequent years, these claims cannot be verified. There was an acknowledgement that, '*even students who study one course can find themselves doing something else after school just because that is the type of job which is available*'.

6.3.9 Conclusions and issues

The PPTC's shortly after their implementation (when the donor withdrew), have consistently failed to fulfil their purpose. In addition, conflicts and uncertainties about ownership and funding have resulted in a system that has bled to death. The fabric of all but a few of the centres is in need of refurbishment, practical work is largely non-existent and staff are demoralised. Based on the study sample there are only a few centres which could be said to be operating productively and they were sited in urban areas. The conclusion to be drawn is that this form of training provision should be halted and the amenities be given over to more productive activities.

6.4 Denominational Vocational Training Centres

This sample of VTC's is drawn from centres that are operated by the two denominations, Catholic and Lutheran.

The Dodoma Diocese Training Centre (Roman Catholic) began in 1976 with 6 students, but by 1980, the capacity had risen to 40, as a result of the Bishop gaining funds to better equip the centre. The students are all boys and they take only carpentry.

Leguruki Vocational Training School started in 1975 on the initiative of the Wameru people and shortly after became a development project of the Northern Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. In 1977 the centre gained assistance from the Netherlands Interchurch Co-ordination Committee for Development Projects (ICCO) and a year later (1978), was registered under the Vocational Training Act. The centre provides training for self-employment and promotes locally relevant technical development. The courses offered include carpentry, masonry, mechanics and a girls' development course, with specialisation in hand production (sewing, textiles, handicrafts), small scale catering and hotel-keeping.

The Same Diocese controls and administers both the Mwanga District and Same Institutions. In Mwanga the Diocese owns Chanjale Vocational School which started in 1991. The centre began as an Adult Education Institute, but later in recognition of the difficulties faced by PSL changed to become a VTC. The centre offers training in agriculture, tailoring, carpentry, masonry, motor vehicle mechanics and panel beating.

Don Bosco as a Church institution has no permanent benefactors and relies on funds from the church, although they receive additional contributions from Indians and Hindus living in Dar es Salaam, who donate funds and machines. Two of the centres were visited during the study.

6.4.1 Funding

The centres in addition to gaining support from the church, all derive additional income from charging a training fee that ranges from 10,000 to 28,000T/sh per annum.

6.4.2 Resourcing

Every centre visited was well equipped and the fabric of the buildings in a good state of repair. In some of the centres workshops there were machines that would only be found in the formal sector, as the capital and recurrent costs are very high. All had electrical supplies and modern amenities.

The accommodation consisted of both classrooms and workshops and some had additional facilities such as libraries, recreation rooms and other sports facilities. Within the various areas there were a number of teaching aids.

6.4.3 Enrolment

Entry to Catholic centres is restricted to males only, although they do not have to be practising Catholics. Both males and females were able to apply for training at the Lutheran centres. However, one Principal considered that strong cultural expectations was the main reason why girls did not opt for metal trades, '*we have no policy toward gender ... but according to the Pare traditions it is very rare (nadra sana) to finding a girl standing there building. Most of them are engaged in tailoring and Domestic science*'. Local tradition (a pastoral ethos) was also thought to lie behind a more general reticence to enrol, '*in the early days, most Pares were not very much found of the vocational subjects, but now they are picking up*' as the centre used to rely on trainees applying from outside the district.

The enrolment procedure used by the different centres varied, but the criteria were very similar, i.e. minimum entry Std VII leaver of good character. Some of the institutions advertised in the press, held selection tests and on the basis of the results offered places. Others included a social dimension in their qualifications for entry; '*one must be a financially poor boy from a large family, or an orphan and must be intellectually average and pass the interview*'.

Drop-out rates were considered by Officers to be low, one considered less than 2%, most were more realistic and considered between 7 and 10%, was a more accurate figure. The reasons given were in some instance socially orientated, '*only a few do misbehave*' and reflected the additional dimension to the training provided.

6.4.4 Curriculum and pedagogy

The centres visited offer either 2 or 3 year courses leading to NVTD Tradé tests III and II in a range of trades. The language of instruction varies between centres some employ Kiswahili, others use English as the first language, but revert to Kiswahili when necessary.

The curriculum consists of a mix of theory and practical activities, with the emphasis on practical activities. The normal ratio being about $1^1/_2$ to 2 hours per day of theory and the remainder (about 6 hours) devoted to skills based activities. In addition to the professional

development of the students, these centres promoted the personal and social development of students through academic study, guidance and counselling and the provision of a wide range of extra-curricular activities.

The teachers' qualifications ranged from Trade Test grade I to degree level and all were male. Discussions with them indicated that they enjoyed the work and were very committed to the social/moral welfare of the students.

A number of practical activities were observed during visits and students were seen to be undertaking a variety of tasks with the minimum of supervision. The work varied depending on the activity and ranged from basic skills exercises to the production of artefacts, the repair of vehicles or the wiring of an installation. The general impression gained was that the work was progressing in a very conducive environment and the quality of the work produced was of a very high standard. No classroom observations were made.

In terms of the relevance of the activities carried out, the question must first be asked what is the destination of the students when they graduate? If the answer is the formal sector then the activities carried out in some of the centres are very relevant as the culture of the workplace is conducive to that sector. If the answer is the informal sector, then all of the activities in some centres would be deemed relevant, while of the remainder, only a few would be considered appropriate, as the culture within some trades areas is the very opposite of that found in the informal sector. The most relevant in terms of training, is motor vehicle mechanic, as a significant part of their training is carried out on vehicles brought in for service, or repair by local people.

6.4.5 Links with employers

Only Don Bosco in Dodoma has a formal arrangement that enables trainees to in-plant training and/or visits to industries during the training programme, this was with a major transport company the Dodoma Regional Transport Company (KAUDO). However, Officials from each of the centres visited said that they approached local companies in an attempt to assist trainees find employment.

6.4.6 Self-reliant activities

Each of the centres operated a range of income generating activities with agriculture figuring most prominently, '*a very big sunflower farm, producing about 600 litres of oil per year, a milling machine, furniture factory, seesawing machine etc*'. In addition producing items for the local diocese was found to be common. Another centre uses its trainee masons to construct local houses which they consider fulfils a number of roles, the activity providing practical experience, enables the trainees to be '*seen*' by local people and employers and generates revenue for the centre.

6.4.7 Qualifications

Centres generally operate a dual system of assessment, i.e. continuous assessment during the programme and a summative one that involves students taking NVTD trade tests. At the end of their training only a relatively small number of students failed to achieve Trade Test certification (5% and 19%) and this was attributable to them failing the theory paper. However, one of the providers only awards certificates '*to students who pass the exams after completing the course and who have a good character*'.

6.4.8 Employment

None of the centres provided careers guidance although some indicated that, '*from time to time, some officials from industries and companies who employ people do come and talk with them* (the trainees)'. All the centres provided assistance in helping students gain employment and one church provides assistance to students who want to become self-employed, by providing the loan of equipment.

6.4.9 Conclusions and issues

Visits to these centres revealed a diversity of provision both in terms of resources and courses, but each were united in a commonality of purpose that was both professionally and socially motivated. Some of the centres provide a very good training for students who aspire to enter the formal sector, while others focused on equipping students with the practical skills necessary to enter the informal sector. Regardless of centre no provision was made to provide the trainees with skills in design, book-keeping, estimating, or marketing.

6.5 Private Vocational Training Centres

Three of the providers visited during the study will be examined, each of them representing a different type of provision, the first a private training school that forms part of a larger training business. The second example is a registered provider, but production is the principle focus, and the final one is an NGO that is largely self-reliant. Other centres were visited, but these were similar to the VTC's operated by NVTD and the churches and therefore to comment on them would serve little or no value, but the three case studies selected reflect the diversity of provision that was found to exist.

The Tanzania Institute of Commerce and Industries started in 1973 as the East African and World Trading Company and was a branch of a Nairobi-based company. In the early days it was a driving school, later diversifying into engine mechanics, auto-electrical works and then electric installations.

Mdawi Vocational Centre began in 1986 and apprentices started by designing bread baking tins, feeder or water troughs for chickens, metal buckets, dustbins, charcoal ovens etc, but the centre has not recruited apprentices since 1990.

Vijana Engineering Society started in 1988 when one secondary school teacher at Uchira, and a number of friends joined an NGO called Topicaris that was run by an African and European, they subsequently acted as consultants and helped to establish Vijana Engineering Society as an NGO with co-operation from the Canadian University Students Organisation (CUSO). In 1992, the group received assistance from a consultant from CUSO and at the same time acquired the one-acre piece of land from the villagers near Kawawa Road in Moshi, where they are now based.

6.5.1 Funding

In each of the institutions visited apprentices paid a fee of between 15,000 and 25,000T/sh. One of the officials considered part of the money was, '*to instil in them some sort of discipline because when someone gets something freely he cannot value it*'. However, the same respondent continued that the trainees received a monthly wage of 3,000T/sh that enabled the trainees to be independent and served as an incentive, as the trainees parents were farmers and they cannot afford the fee's and most parents prefer their children to work on the shamba.

6.5.2 Resourcing

The resources observed during visits to the three centres varied significantly. In the first case, the buildings were in a decrepit state of disrepair, but there was a few educational resource materials for teachers and pupils to use, but insufficient for the numbers of trainees enrolled. The owner later admitted that, *'I have 20 students in motor vehicle class, but I have only one vehicle and there are 40 trainees in the electrical class and I send them to a friend.'* In the second centre, this was a production centre rather than a training centre and was very well equipped with a range of hand and power tools to enable production of a wide range of products. There was a chalk-board with notes and drawing in colour in a prominent position, suggesting that some theoretical activities were carried out. The third centre was very well equipped to train motor mechanics, there were shadow-boards of tools cleaned after use, trolley jacks etc,

6.5.3 Enrolment

The minimum level of qualification was Std VII and in the case of the private centre, students have to pass an entrance examination in English, Mathematics and Science. All three centres operated a policy of equal opportunities, although in each of the centres visited boys dominated. However, this was not due to a lack of ability, more a lack of applications by girls. *'There are few girls but their ability is equal to that of boys in many aspects. They are equally bright in theoretical work and in the practicals one cannot make any difference especially when they are dressed in the same manner (trousers) making them equally flexible'* commented one official. While a female artisan considered that, *'the level of understanding between boys and girls is the same, but boys express more happiness and excitement on any success'*.

Drop-out rates were considered to be 10 to15% depending on the centre. One of the centres is in a remote rural area and this was thought to be the principle reason for leaving, as *'due to transport problems ... students abscond ... and the fare can be as high as 6,000T'sh'*. This was compounded by the students relying on the sale of their work for an allowance.

6.5.4 Curriculum and pedagogy

All three centres offered courses that were a minimum of one-year duration, in the case of two of the centres the time was largely immaterial as they were not preparing their trainees for trade test examinations. However, the NGO instructor stressed that, *'they designed their own syllabus but trying as much as possible to keep it within the framework of the national one'*, (i.e. NVTD). The exception was the private centre which operated a two term programme.

No formal training was observed in the private centre as the students were on leave, but practical work was observed in the other two. In both instances the trainees worked largely unsupervised although in the case of the vehicle mechanics, several were working on the same vehicle. This according to the instructor was to enable newer trainees to learn from the more experienced ones. In terms of observing a safe working environment, both groups appeared to consider where to place tools and observed a code of measured actions when working in close association with their peers.

The quality of the goods produced by the female artisans (the only two observed) was of a high standard and to cite a specific example, one was producing a metal suitcase and in the process of ensuring the lid fitted squarely she was observed to be utilising a *'thinking-and-doing'* problem solving process, until the work was completed to her satisfaction.

6.5.5 Links with employers

In the case of the private institution, students are expected to work in industries to gain practical experience and learn about the culture of the workplace and *'return with reports, money and experience or knowledge'* the owner quoted two formal sector garages who accept students. The other two centres did not have direct links with employers. On this matter it is worth noting the views of one Principal of a private VTC's not considered in this study, *'those who do not get any place (about 40%) stay back in the institution, but missing the industrial training does not affect their examination results ... this is just a supplementary (nyongeza) ... what is important is following the syllabus'*. This succinctly describes the diploma disease culture that many of the informal sector operators despised, as this lack of practical experience prevented them from offering VTC journeymen (*machinga*) employment.

6.5.6 Self-reliant activities

The private centre did not undertake any activities as finance was derived directly from student fees. However, both of the other centres depended to a large extent on income generation. The production centre was by implication market orientated, while the motor vehicle mechanics plied their trade by repairing and servicing vehicles either brought to the centre or in town.

6.5.7 Qualifications

The only centre to promote formal qualifications was the private centre who prepared trainees for the NVTD trade test grade III. During the programme of study 3 types of assessment were employed, progress sheets based on either course or homework, end of term examinations and final examinations, i.e. the trade tests. The owner considered that the failure rate was about 10 to 15% per year, depending on the calibre of the trainees. Most of these failed the theory paper, but they were allowed to re-sit and most of them passed. The artisans at the production unit said that originally they had been promised a certificate when they completed their training, but none had been provided.

6.5.8 Employment

Trainees from the private centre gained employment in both the formal and informal sectors, although the owner could/did not provide any examples. Comments from representatives of the other two centres was much more positive, each mentioned specific examples of artisans gaining employment in both sectors. None of the providers kept a formal record of the destination of trainees, or attempted any follow-up.

6.5.9 Conclusions and issues

The quality of provision varied within the sample. In terms of training none of the providers diversified from a strict programme of craft skills. Estimating, marketing etc were not included in the training programmes. Negotiation was the domain of the owner or chief instructor. This poses the question, do they omit to teach these skills because they consider them to be unnecessary, or do the trainers have no knowledge of them?

7. Conclusions

The conclusions are sub-divided into 5 sections; policies and issues, education, the problems of the youth, vocational education and training and finally the informal sector. What must be borne in mind is that these sections are not independent, but closely interrelated. In some instances the conclusions reiterate factors which have been previously identified by other researchers, i.e. in relation to aspects of primary education, while others may include reference to initiatives and strategies from other developing or developed countries. Regardless, there are no quick-fix solutions although the need for effective communication, information systems and competent personnel is paramount, as they are two of the principal constraints to future development.

7.1 Policies and issues

The government have historically attempted to ignore the problems of youth unemployment and as such this has exacerbated the problem by producing two generations of parents and their children (youth), which considers petty corruption and embezzlement to be part of the culture. In the current socio-economic climate such activities are condoned, for *guile* is one of the principal strategies used by individuals and families to alleviate hunger and poverty.

Government assistance where it has been given has been largely ineffectual, in part due to the ideological nature of some policies, but more often due to a combination of factors, an ineffective civil service, a lack of accurate information and poor communications. Policies which diversify training provision within and between three Ministries (MLYD, CDWC & MEC), has resulted in three different forms of training VTC, FDC and PPTC. While it is acknowledged that this was done for ideological reasons, the current situation demands that responsibility for all training should be the responsibility of the MLYD and specifically VETA. This would enable cohesive policies and programmes to be implemented that would standardise curriculum, assessment and certification within the system. In addition centralisation under a single Ministry would reduce the bureaucracy and maximise finite resources.

The 3C's, command, control and communications are considered essential for the effective and efficient operation of any organisation, at the core of this doctrine is the need for the interchange of accurate information. This represents the principal constraint to development at every strata of society from Ministerial level, down to individuals operating subsistence activities in the informal sector. Numerous examples of this were encountered during the study and ranged from; Ministry officials citing statistics and records about aspects of provision, only to find discrepancies at regional, district and institutional levels, to problems encountered by artisans lacking specific knowledge and skills.

Channels of communication between the various parties are underdeveloped especially the transport infrastructure, although many of the roads linking the main towns are being resurfaced with international assistance. Electricity is currently rationed as supply cannot meet demand (many rural areas have no electricity) and the telephone service is poor. Communication by Fax or Email is growing but is an option for only a small number of individuals and institutions in urban areas. Hard-copy using the postal service is therefore the

main method of communication between institutions and individuals. However, this contributes to the problems of accurate data collection, for due to a combination of financial and logistical problems, there is little opportunity for verification by line managers, consequently, each line manager accepts the information and forwards it to his/her superior who repeats the process until it reaches the decision makers. Without suitable checks and balances the opportunities for *creative accounting* are self-evident and while it may serve the purposes of some, ultimately it inhibits development, for effective decision making relies on accurate information. In addition the current bureaucratic system creates an inertia that operates against the effective utilisation of information, as from source to decision maker may take weeks, months or longer depending on the source and nature of the information.

Conspicuous by their absence, are higher education institutions in promoting enterprise and innovation in the informal sector. Little evidence was found of Technical Colleges, or University providing support services to informal sector operators. This may well be attributable to the elitist culture, alluded to earlier in the report, but the absence of such specialist expertise represents a serious disregard for the socio-economic potential of the sector and requires a reappraisal of the situation. There are many examples in developing countries where the involvement of HE has benefited the sector. In Ghana for instance what is now the Intermediate Technology Transfer Unit (ITTU) funded by the government, began in 1968 with the establishment of a Consultancy Centre at Kumasi University. ITTU units operate within informal sector areas such as *Suame Magazine* an area similar to Gerazani and the intention is, in addition to the two already in operation, that ITTU's will be established in every region. There is a need for HE institutions in Tanzania to adopt a similar approach to promote and support the technological development of the informal sector.

There is a tradition of enterprise within the country that over the last two decades has been exploited by increasing numbers of people to earn a living. However, in terms of manufacturing this has often been through copying an existing artefact rather than by assimilation and innovation. The result is that new products and services are dependent on outside producers, rather than the efforts of Tanzanian entrepreneurs. The design process appear to be an alien culture to artisans, for it is not included in VTC or any other vocational training programmes of study and neither was it observed during visits to informal sector enterprises. There is a need to promote innovation among informal sector operators to enable new markets to be identified and demand for goods and services to be increased. This could be promoted through the activities of SIDO and other agencies, but there is also a major role HE institutions can play, assisting in the establishment of enterprise and production centres.

Within the informal sector, little emphasis is placed on encouraging *journeymen* (*machinga*) to continue their studies or attend courses leading to national Trade Test qualifications. The attitudes of trainees and operators is frequently cavalier, reflecting an employment culture were practical skills were acquired by trial and error rather than through structured instruction reinforced through book work. However, such attitudes fail to acknowledge the importance of recurrent education in a time of increasing technological change and pose a threat to the future growth and activities of some parts of the sector.

Another factor that severally inhibits economic development is the absence of a maintenance culture. Throughout the country regardless of the sector, there is evidence of a lack of planned preventative maintenance, the reliability and availability of electrical supply are prime examples of problems that affects everyone. There is a *run-it-into-the-ground* mentality that may be

attributable to either colonialism, a recurrent lack of foreign currency to purchase spare parts, a failure to assimilate technology transfer, an over reliance on international aid, or a combination of these factors. Whatever the cause, the effects seriously impede the formal economic infrastructure.

However this lack of a maintenance culture stimulates a significant demand for informal sector goods and services, e.g. the increasing numbers of vehicle mechanics who repair rather than service, or the artisans who repair and refurbish other electro-mechanical equipment. In both of these examples they rely heavily on cannibalism and recycling for their raw materials and indeed this form of thrift forms the basis for economic survival for many informal sector operators.

The aspirations of many parents and children are based on a perceived socio-economic pyramid, where a secondary school education precedes *white-collar* formal sector employment, for those unable to gain a secondary school place, or white collar employment, a training course at a VTC is considered to be their next option, as this leads to *blue-collar* formal sector employment. In rural areas, consideration is given to attendance at an FDC where programmes of study lead to NVTD trade tests. In each case, accredited certification accompanies the programme of study. For the vast majority of young people unable to follow either of these routes for whatever reason (academic, financial, social etc), their options are restricted to either, certificated vocational training at a PPTC which has little credence, or employment/self-employment in the informal sector.

The results of the study suggests that these perceptions are reinforced post primary school, through the ethos and programmes of study of secondary schools, and VTC's. This has led to a situation where secondary school leavers and trainees are reluctant to enter the informal sector, while operators are reluctant to employ them. In the case of trainees, there was consensus among operators, that the knowledge and skills taught in VTC's, ill-equipped young people to adapt to the working conditions of the sector. There are no mechanisms for dialogue between the VTC's and informal sector operators and this perpetuates the suspicion and mistrust that exists between the institution, trainees and operators. There is a need to establish channels of communication, to enable representatives of both communities to develop cohesive strategies that will be of mutual benefit.

Over capacity in some trades training, (i.e. carpentry and tailoring), is contributing to socio-economic difficulties. Traditionally, NVTC's and other training providers have been tooled-up to annually train a specific numbers of artisans, in a number of trades regardless of demand. This supply driven system has led to in some areas to underemployment due to a saturation of the market. In addition changes in consumer demand have not been taken into account. An example of this was in a small area of one town visited, there were over 100 independent jobbing tailors (many of whom were locally trained) were situated, most waiting for custom. Nearby there was a market where many of the stalls sold finished goods, tee-shirts, dresses etc, that were worn by many of the residents. Interviews with the tailors revealed that their income was derived mainly from repairing or altering *mitumba* (second-hand clothes). However, despite this within the locale, a number of institutions continue to train significant numbers of tailors. There is a need to introduce mechanisms to more closely ensure training provision reflects the demands of the marketplace and not merely reflecting the capacity and skills of the training providers.

The final comment to make is that Tanzania is a very multi-cultural society, yet throughout the study visiting a diverse array of institutions people very few people of Asian origin were observed either in training centres, or employed in those areas of the informal sector that were the focus of the study.

7.2 Education

The function of education is to impart in young people, the knowledge and skills necessary to enable them to contribute to the socio-economic development of their communities and ultimately of the country. For over two decades great emphasis has been placed on national and individual SR, while the educational system and the aspirations of consumers have both proceeded, counter to this political ideology.

Schools operate in isolation of their communities and the views of consumers (pupils, parents and employers) are largely ignored. There is a need for greater accountability at all levels from Ministry to individual institutions to redress consumer concerns about the financing, administration and management of the system. There is a need for decentralised control through a combination of local authorities and individual schools. Local authorities should be responsible for the funding and maintenance of schools, while parents gain a voice through participation on the governing bodies of schools. The actions of Headteachers and staff would be regulated by this body, which would curtail many of the unethical practices commonly found to occur in schools and present the first step in raising the quality of educational provision. In this way schools would become an integral part of the community.

Currently REO's and DEO's are the local representatives of the MEC and undertake many of the functions that would be transferred to the local community, but to reiterate what was discussed earlier, their effectiveness is inhibited by a lack of funds and logistical problems so the proposed restructuring would be in the interests of the community. The role of REO's and DEO's would concentrate on improving the quality of provision through inspections and the provision of inservice training.

Parents and pupils openly question the quality of primary education, yet at the same time demand greater access to secondary school, a panacea and passport to the formal sector. To satisfy this need, an increasing number of private secondary schools are opening (currently there are more private than state places). Expansion of secondary education is not the solution, as in the current economic climate this will only provide a short respite as the problems of youth unemployment and under-employment are shifted from Std VII to Form IV leavers. In addition the elitist culture promoted in secondary schools would further reinforce the negative views held by parents and pupils towards employment in the informal sector. What is required is that the curriculum of the primary school be congruent to the needs of both the relatively small numbers of pupils who progress to secondary education and the vast majority whose future lies in the informal sector.

Change is not only required within the educational system, but also in the attitudes and expectations of the consumers who are out of step with the realities of socio-economic life. The days when secondary education guaranteed leavers employment in the civil service and parastatal industries are a thing of the past. Many people (especially in urban areas) are aware of the effects of retrenchment, yet either fail to make the connection, or refuse to acknowledge that employment opportunities in the formal sector (government of private) have declined

sharply in recent years. The problem for the politicians is how to realign the aspirations and expectations of consumers with the realities of life, i.e. striking a balancing between the *needs* of consumers and their *desires*. However, in over two decades the politicians never succeeded in implementing such a strategy, so there seems little chance in the future.

The desires of the consumers are well documented, but what are the needs of Std VII leavers? During the study responses to this question were sought from, primary school pupils, street youth, informal sector operators, artisans and formal sector employers. The majority of primary school pupil's responses focused on the aim for a place at secondary school, but when asked what they would do if they were unsuccessful, few responded, as many appeared unprepared to acknowledge their probable fate. Street youth were more realistic and considered that primary education needed to be more relevant to their future needs, and should focus on the teaching of four subjects, Mathematics, English, Kiswahili and Science which were justified primarily in terms of enhancing their opportunities for employment. SR activities were castigated as a waste of time. Youths were also highly critical of the actions of teachers and their teaching methods, in particular the lack of relevance. The responses of representatives from both economic sectors were highly congruent, in that they wanted school leavers who essentially had a command of the 3R's, and transferable skills such as problem-solving, although what they inferred by problem-solving was never clearly defined. What was clear though was they wanted young people skilled in *knowing-how* not just *knowing-that*. To conclude, the consensus from all but the primary pupils was that they *needed* a curriculum that emphasised the 3R's, but encouraged the development of transferable skills that would be of value in the work-place, an education that combined academic learning with the development of personal attributes and skills.

The MEC/TIE are currently developing a *work-skills* syllabus that will be included in the primary curriculum, but during the study the content was still under discussion. People interviewed during the study expressed negative comments about SR activities so it is unlikely that the subject will merely be SR in disguise, (although the possibility exists that teachers may interpret this syllabus that way). Speculating, a syllabus based on the same lines as the established Kenyan '*Work Skills*' curriculum is one possibility. The term work skills is also worth considering. What is implied by the term? Practical skills such as carpentry, tailoring etc, or business skills book-keeping costing etc, or transferable skills such as problem-solving? Regardless, this raises serious questions about implementation and the subsequent effectiveness of the subject, not least about the competence of teachers to teach the subject, bearing in mind that they are poorly trained and non-specialist.

Similar attempts at developing a work-related curriculum have been made in a number of countries. In the UK, attempts to pre-vocationalise the secondary curriculum has met with varying degrees of success. In England and Wales the Technical Vocational Educational Initiative (TVEI) was introduced in 1982, not by the Department of Education and Science (DES) but through the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) an agency of the Department of Employment. Originally began as a pilot scheme, it was extended and within a few years nearly all LEA's participated in the programme. Although within schools there were specialist teachers, (i.e. scientists, business studies, technologists and information technologists) the linkages between school and work were never strong and eventually funding for the scheme was withdrawn. There were a number of notable successes however, not least in changing the culture of schools, the curriculum, methods of teaching and the examination system, all of which was later reinforced by the introduction of a National Curriculum.

The lessons from this are that change, (change in the organisation and in the behaviour of those that participate in the organisation) was achieved by circumventing the establishment and awarding financial inducements, closely monitored to ensure that the actions of institutions and individuals contributed towards clearly defined goals. Change was not achieved through conflict, but financial inducement at all levels, while institutions gained additional amenities and facilities, many teachers were financially rewarded through up-grading. Financial rewards alone did not facilitate change, teachers required in-service training to develop new teaching strategies and coping skills, and pupils too had to learn to operate in the changed environment of the classroom. No longer were they expected to be passive recipients, their new role was as an active participant in the learning process.

The benefits for the consumer were that pupils left, not as partially skilled engineers, etc, but *knowing-how* not just *knowing-that*. The notion that *relevance* was an important factor in the learning process had taken root, and this enabled pupils to develop many of the personal attributes necessary for life in the community and work-place.

It is against this example that the aims and objectives of the work-skills syllabus in Tanzania must be judged, will the provision of resources be adequate to successfully introduce the subject into the curriculum? The example is very poignant however, as the TVEI programme aimed to foster a more positive attitude towards industry and commerce and realign the culture of the classroom more closely with that of the community. These are the aims which the primary curriculum in Tanzania should encompass.

Three factors were critical to the success of the TVEI initiative, political will, funding and effective technical support for the practitioners. In Tanzania's case the adequate remuneration of teachers is vitally important to reduce the dependency on double-jobbing and focus their attention towards effective teaching. Numerous examples have been cited about the current activities of teachers (including Headteachers), but this will not be easy to eliminate as it is endemic and has become an established part of the national culture. Although tighter scrutiny by a governing body, or payment based on attendance (a strategy used by some NGO's) would also focus teacher's minds on their work.

Teacher Training Institutions (including the University) have a part to play in acting as change agents, instructing and assessing student teachers in paradigms conducive to the promotion of a curriculum that emphasises the need for relevance and equip the pupils with the knowledge and skills, to enable them to become useful members of the community.

Another curriculum area that could act as a change agent is science. The current academic syllabus is totally inappropriate to the needs of the vast majority of pupils, for pure science is unrelated to the world outside the classroom and therefore of questionable value to the vast majority of pupils. Compounding the problem is an acknowledgement by many that the subject is poorly understood by primary teachers and as a consequence poorly taught. What is required at primary level is a syllabus that is adaptable to local experience, to stress the relevance of the subject in everyday lives. In the early years, health, hygiene, the environment and later science investigations based on indigenous technologies would be appropriate.

What would be more appropriate at both the primary and secondary phases would be syllabi that emphasised practical scientific knowledge and skills that increasingly involved indigenous technologies. This would facilitate the contextualisation of knowledge and promote innovation

within the informal sector as the materials and processes used by informal sector operators would be better understood. In terms of accommodating such change the principal constraints are the attitudes, perceptions and expectations of teachers and consumers. Pure science has a higher status than applied science and teachers supportive of this culture and experienced only in the chalk-and-talk paradigm, would require intensive inservice retraining to enable them to implement the more pupil centred paradigms associated with investigative, problem solving activities. Similarly, a campaign to create awareness among the consumers would be required. The relevance of such a curriculum (in terms of their children's future needs) would persuade many parents to accept change. In contrast, pupils like their teachers would require guidance and counselling to assist them adapt to the revised teaching methods.

At the secondary level, the introduction of a more technologically orientated or Science Technology Society (STS) form of science curriculum, would be more aligned to the needs of consumers. A number of syllabi have been developed by developing countries, i.e. Botswana (Nganunu 1988) and evaluation studies have underlined their potential to better equip young people with the scientific and technical knowledge and skills necessary to participate in an increasingly technological world. The principal problems in implementing such a curriculum in Tanzania appear from the literature, to be cultural and political.

The problems of teacher attitudes and elitism represents the most serious challenge as this permeates the educational system per se. University education is conservative, as scientific and technological knowledge is stressed, rather than the application of this knowledge. This has traditionally been reinforced by the practice of graduates either entering the civil service or parastatals at managerial or administrative levels. This is in stark contrast to graduate engineers and scientists in most developed countries whose undergraduate studies are a mix of theory and practical and may include an extended work placement designed to reinforce through example. This amalgam of *mind-and-hand,* i.e. *thinking and doing*, is essentially missing from the Tanzanian educational system at all levels.

Work by the authors with Physics undergraduates at UDSM who were training to be teachers, reinforced this concern of an over-emphasis of pure science. The topic under discussion was *project work in schools* and the first question posed to the students was, what do you think this involves? Without exception they all said *devising experiments* which was further refined to mean the *verification* of scientific laws and concepts. The notion of *investigations* that required the *application* of scientific knowledge, let alone knowledge and skills from other curriculum areas was alien to them.

During these sessions two problems were employed to illustrate possible investigative project activities and these were based on brick making, a common informal sector activity. The first was based on the following brief. You are going to start to build your first house. In your village are four brick makers, each charge the same price for their bricks and each appears to make them in the same way. How would you find out who makes the best bricks? The second was more technological and considered possible methods to improve the simple device used by nearly operators to make the bricks.

Activities such as these whether carried out in schools, colleges or university have a number of merits both for the institution, the student and the informal sector. Innovation and enterprise skills are developed by the institution and student. The institution has then the potential to market the innovation, while the student has gained an understanding of the culture of the

informal sector and is therefore better equipped to enter and participate in the sector's activities. The benefits to the informal sector operator are manifest in improved quality, more efficient utilisation of raw materials, improved methods of production and possibly increased profits.

There are many examples of this type of collaborative activity in developing countries sponsored by associations, industry and commerce. Work carried out by Kent (1994) in the UK on the development of Education-Business Partnership (EBP) activities suggests that collaborative links between schools and industry promote a greater understanding of the partners activities and helps to erode traditional myths and mis-conceptions, as well as fostering good will. The advantages for teachers are that participation assists in the development of schemes of work that are based on real-world scenarios that are more likely to interest and motivate students than more formal methods of delivery. Students also gain from EBP activities, principally through some form of work shadowing or experience, or by engaging in real-world problem solving activities.

To reiterate, the problems in adopting this type of approach are twofold, firstly to change the attitudes of administrators and teachers, which cannot be achieved overnight and persuade administrators of the value of a curriculum that promotes collaboration between education and industry. A first step in the alleviation of the first problem lies in changing the way teachers are trained. Teacher training courses should include activities that foster the contextualisation of knowledge and skills. This in itself would represent a radical reform of the system. The principal obstacle identified by the literature is political, and such a reform will only be successful if there is the political will to support such an innovation.

Before concluding, it is worth repeating that any attempt at educational reform in the current economic climate that will involve significant changes in the roles and responsibilities of teachers will be resisted. Overtly teachers may express concerns about the curriculum, lack of resources etc but while there may be a modicum of truth in these arguments they mask the true reason, which is economic. To many teachers the meagre salary they receive represents insufficient incentive to change.

7.3 The problems of the youth

Unemployed and underemployed youth in Tanzania represent a future threat to the stability of the country. A combination of national economic decline and inflated expectations that are unattainable has forced many young people to resort to informal and sometimes anti-social means of earning a living. However, in the process they are sometimes discriminated against, or exploited, but for a significant number their main problem is earning enough to satisfy their daily needs. This involves subsistence existence for many based on labouring, petty business, hawking, or selling food in bars, or on street corners, while others drift into crime and prostitution. These represent the most unfortunate members of society, for some people through the extended family are able to gain an apprenticeship or other training that better equips them for paid employment, or self-employment. Others form groups and begin Nguvu kazi self-employment, sometimes gaining financial and technical support from either the government, or an NGO.

7.3.1 The problems of co-ordination

The major problem the government and NGO's have in attempting to assist the youth is a lack of accurate information from which to extrapolate trends and future needs and therefore be able to target their resources more effectively. Within the MLYD the Directorate of Youth are responsible for co-ordinating youth activities within the country, but lack the communications network and informatics to perform this role. They have no data base, library, or effective means of data collection, as the directorate has only limited access to transport and the Field Officers collect data largely by local enquiry. The identification, monitoring and assessment of youth activities is therefore inefficient. In addition there are no mechanisms for the interchange of data between the Directorate and other sections within the MLYD, other Ministries, or NGO's.

There is a need to provide the Directorate with the knowledge, skills and hardware to enable the important task of data collection and dissemination to proceed. This would enable the resources and efforts of government and NGO's to be more effectively and efficiently targeted and in doing so provide assistance to greater number of young people.

The establishment of this facility would enable educational institutions and agents to gain access to information about a wide range of past, current and future education and training initiatives promoted by the government and NGO's. It would reduce the time and effort currently spent by agencies and donors in identifying prospective groups or in developing appropriate policies and programmes, and finally promote closer institutional and personal links between government Ministries and NGO's

The establishment of such a bureau could be achieved in four phases; the first phase would involve discussions between the government and NGO's to establish the parameters of the data base and consider the requirements of the library and archive. The compilation and transfer of existing hard-copy to the electronic data base would represent the second phase. It is intended that data would be supplied by government and NGO's to supplement that held by the Directorate and would enable the bureau to become operational. The third and fourth phases extend the resources available and by implication the services offered by the Directorate. During this period data relating to formal education and VET would be included.

The system would also directly benefit the youth, as information about training needs based on recent or current data would enable trainers and field-workers to better prepare groups for Nguvu kazi activities, reducing the possibility of failure and by implication, maximise the limited resources of funds and manpower.

Members of the Directorate would require training in methods of data collection, computer literacy, sales and marketing. The initial capital costs would be relatively high, but the bureau could become in-part self-financing, by selling its services and information to a range of possible client groups. As a precursor to making this recommendation discussions were held with academics from UDSM and the Directorate who supported the establishment of such a facility.

7.3.2 Nguvu kazi groups

The formation of these groups are perceived by many members as the opportunity of gaining financial assistance to become self-employed. The reality is that funds to support these groups is limited and only a small number gain the assistance they had hoped for. As a consequence

many groups fail, or the membership fluctuates as disillusioned youth seek alternate methods of subsistence. The main problems are the siting of the plot, a lack of amenities and a lack of entrepreneurial skills.

Rural or urban, authorities appear to grant land to groups that is inaccessible or lacking the amenities necessary to establish a business. To compound their problems, groups form with little, or no idea of operating a business and unless they have gained assistance from a donor, receive little or no practical help from the authorities. The result is that business is transacted ad hoc without direction or discipline. In many instances the need to subsist overrides the logic of corporate business and groups fragment *doing- their-own-thing* taking the risk of being exploited, but satisfying their daily needs, rather than working together, which in the longer term would be more profitable.

What groups require is knowledge and information, they need to be able to find out if the activity they propose to engage in, is a viable proposition and then the knowledge to manage their business effectively. In addition to technical knowledge this would include book-keeping, marketing and promotion, as these are essential not only to establish a business, but for future development. Too often the researchers were confronted with artisans manufacturing goods which they considered worthwhile, but they lacked a market. There is a need to inculcate a culture in producers which begins by identifying what the customer wants rather than what s/he thinks they need. They need to realise that the market-place is demand driven and not supply driven. Instruction in costing a product or service would serve an important function, for while acknowledging that the predominant method of selling is through negotiation, the ability to estimate the cost of manufacture would provide the artisan with a bench mark for negotiation. Attention should also focus on the need to produce and maintain a quality product, or service and that interpersonal skills are important.

The proposed information system would also directly benefit the youth, as information about training needs based on recent or current data would enable trainers and field-workers to better prepare groups for Nguvu kazi activities, reducing the possibility of failure and by implication, maximising the limited resources of money and manpower.

7.3.3 Gender

In the UK, the Women's National Commission (1984), emphasised that girls had legal access to virtually all forms of employment and training within the country. In Tanzania, the government acknowledges and supports these sentiments and in the civil service, equality of opportunity appears to operate, as many senior personnel interviewed during the study were women, but this was not found to be the case in the training or employment of artisans in the informal sector, as throughout the study, discrimination and harassment have been a permeating feature. From primary enrolment through to gaining employment girls are discriminated against and experience sexual harassment. Cultural expectations figure prominently in comments about why girls experience problems, especially in rural areas where the *hunter-gatherer* mentality predominates.

Discrimination begins in the home with the attitudes and values held by the parents. Their views govern whether the daughter is enrolled in primary school to learn, or to comply with the law, they influence attendance and such issues as dropping-out or progressing to secondary school. Later parents may attempt to force her to marry against her will.

Pregnancy, or the expectation that a girl will become pregnant, acts as a very visible barrier to equality. In primary school the girl is vulnerable to discrimination if she falls pregnant as this means automatic expulsion from school, with little chance to return to complete her studies after the child is born. Post primary school opportunities are restricted, as boys dominate the enrolment in secondary school, higher education and vocational training. The current evidence suggests that girls fair less well in the PSL examinations than boys. However, to promote the participation of girls a 'quota' system operates both at secondary and HE levels. Women are largely prevented from training as artisans in the informal sector, while those who gain a place at a VTC to train as an artisan are discriminated against by both informal and formal sector employers when seeking employment. Indeed NVTD statistics indicate that in 1993 of those who left VTC's, 93% of males secured employment, compared to only 30% of females. This is all the more disconcerting as the gender ratio was approximately 5:1 in favour of males. However, in terms of recruitment, institutions such as VTC's, operate a policy of positive discrimination in an attempt to entice girls to participate.

VTC Principals consider that girls perform as well as and in some instances out-perform their male peers, so it is not a case of inappropriate training or lack of competence which prevents them finding in-plant training or other employment. In one of the case studies where women were found to be operating as artisans, (having originally trained at the centre) their knowledge of materials and processes and the quality of products they produced (suitcases, buckets and other utensils etc) was comparable to, or better to than, many of the artisans observed.

There is a relatively high incidence of pregnancy among young women, especially in the rural areas, so there is a need for a concerted programme of family planning to assist women and to counter some of the concerns of employers. This will not in the short term change the attitudes of employers, but it represents one of a number of measures that could directly help women.

This begs the question what reasons apart from pregnancy are there for barring women from training and working as artisans? Male chauvinism is undoubtedly one factor, but there are others, the problems of maternity leave and the provision of facilities for returning mothers to feed their babies, a fear that woman will act as a distraction, sexually enticing fellow workers or clients, were found to be common justifications, similarly protecting women from iniquity was commonly mentioned.

A significant proportion of those operating in the informal sector are women, yet only a tiny percentage are employed as artisans, the majority are concentrated in the catering and allied services that tend to offer the least financial rewards. It is unrealistic to assume that the long held beliefs of male employers in artisan trades can be changed in the short-term, therefore alternative strategies to promote greater female participation are necessary.

Problems of discrimination have been encountered in many countries and one of the most successful solutions has been to form co-operative ventures operated solely by women. Within Tanzania such ventures have been supported by UNICEF who have set up grain mills specifically for women to run in a number of districts. Training has been given in both the operation and maintenance of the machinery. The response of the community has generally been supportive, but the Officer interviewed recalled that in a number of instances there has been outbreaks of *Ludditism* by those men resentful of their wives success. Success has also

been achieved in India, where women with bank loans have established and operated weaving businesses in rural areas

This poses the question, through what mechanisms could female participation be increased in a male dominated environment? The most obvious solution is to establish co-operatives where girls could learn trade skills or join as *journeywomen* after their initial training and depending on the nature of the trade, market and sell their products. The Mdawi Vocational Training centre currently operates in a similar way, as the production of a range of utilitarian hardware is produced by women artisans and sold in the local markets. Communes training artisans and selling manufactured products would be less problematic to establish and operate, than service industries such as motor vehicle repair or electrical installation, for it was in these areas that discrimination was most pronounced.

One of the findings from the study of primary school pupils and street youth, was that many of the primary pupils surveyed had little idea what they would do if they failed to gain a place at secondary school. The responses from street youth indicated that when they were in Std VII they also were unaware of future career options, other than secondary school. The corollary is that primary school leavers require careers guidance and counselling to assist their transition from school to work. Teachers are unsuited to this task, for a number of reasons not least, possible prejudice against informal sector employment, a lack of first-hand knowledge of the workplace and finally their role as classroom managers, precludes them from establishing contacts with prospective employers.

This is an area where an outside specialist input is required to provide constructive impartial advice about possible careers if progression to secondary school is not achieved. Discussions with the Principals of the various VET's all considered this was necessary to improve the quality of trainees and reduce wastage. The introduction of careers guidance could also have other long term benefits such as fostering more positive attitudes to industry per se and to establishing links between schools and local industries in rural and urban areas.

The final comment to make on methods of assisting the youth, is that the locale should be encouraged to do more to assist local youth. In addition to providing a site for Nguvu kazi activities, villages and towns could promote the activities of the youth by allowing access to sell their produce in competition with established traders on certain days of the week. In larger towns the authorities could possibly even provide a permanent site for the Nguvu kazi groups. This in many ways would represent something of a paradox, as the purpose of Nguvu kazi, was to remove informal sector operators from towns, yet times change and support, rather than repression makes this proposal all the more feasible.

7.4 Vocational Education and Training

One of the intentions of the researchers was to map the progress of graduates from the various training providers in an attempt to develop a profile of their in-plant training patterns. However, this was not possible for two reasons. The first was that the majority of training providers do not keep a record of the in-plant training destinations for their trainees and secondly acting on the information provided by the small number of providers who did maintain a record, it soon became clear that many of these young people led peripatetic lives. Based on these records and anecdotal evidence it was apparent that a significant number gained employment or in-plant training in trades or occupations different to their training

either through choice or necessity. Principals attributed these in-plant/employment trends to retrenchment. Visits to a small sample of these employers revealed more significantly, that many young people only stayed for a relatively short period of time in that employment. The corollary to be drawn from this, is that in terms of formal provision, the notion of apprenticeship based on centre based training followed by an extended period of in-plant training is failing to achieve is objectives.

7.4.1 Vocational Training Centres (VTC's)

The 1994 Act established VETA to oversee Vocational Training within the country and through the establishment of Regional Boards enable NVTC's to react to the needs of their locale. The legislation also changed the process of funding for VET and all formal sector employers with 4 or more employees are required to pay a training levy. There is no provision for informal sector representation on the Regional Boards.

Early in the study it became apparent that the government's policies towards the training of the youth were donor-led, and that international agencies, SIDA and DANIDA in particular were the leading exponents. However, the only fully cohesive programme was operated by NVTD a division of the MLYD who are responsible for the NVTC's. These were originally introduced to train artisans for the formal sector and historically their training programmes have not been aligned to the needs of the informal sector. However, in response to changes in the market-place, NVTC's are currently in a state of transition that is being directed by SIDA. Discussions with officials at NVTD indicated that the culture of VTC's was changing to reflect the need to adopt to a demand-driven market-place and that the curriculum was being adapted to meet the needs of increasing numbers of trainees who entered the informal sector.

To facilitate this transition the emphasis has so far been on the administrative and managerial aspects of centres and there is little or no evidence of cultural change within the institutions, nor of a curriculum that equips trainees with the knowledge and skills necessary to enable them to operate effectively in the informal sector. The trade curriculum consisted solely of job specific skills and no provision was made for topics such as designing, estimating, or marketing.

Visits to 12 NVTC's found them to be generally well equipped with workshops, classrooms, audio visual aids etc. Observations included both taught lessons and workshop activities where in each case, a *cook-book* approach appeared to be employed. Instructors were aware of the changes taking place, but had received no formal training to prepare then for the revised role of the institution. Very few of the instructors had experience of working in the informal sector.

Visits to VTC's affiliated to NVTD but operated by the various church organisations presented a similar profile. These institutions also placed an emphasis on the trainees' personal and social development. However, both categories of provision appeared to operate largely in a vacuum, as neither had encouraged regular contact with local industries from either sector. In most instances trainees were expected to find their own post centre, in-plant training and little attempt was made to ensure that an apprentice was receiving the appropriate programme of training during this period. The principal reasons for both of these apparent shortcomings, was a lack of resources and logistical problems.

There is a need to establish institutional linkages between VTC's and their client groups, in part to establish a rapport and enter into the spirit of a demand-led training industry, but

primarily in the context of this study, to enable *students to gain work-experience prior to* completing their centre based programme. For many students their first real opportunity to experience the culture of the workplace is when they begin their in-plant training. Regular visits during the years would strengthen institutional linkages and encourage/motivate the trainee by providing an environment where s/he could practice the skills learned in the centre. In addition exposure to local industries would enable instructors to be better informed and prepared to expedite their duties.

One aspect that concerned many Principals was the need to generate income through SR activities. The culture of the institutions was such that demarcation between trades was the norm. SR activities were therefore perceived in terms of electrical, carpentry, masonry, tailoring etc. There is a need to contextualise and combine the activities of various groups to design, manufacture and sell goods and services based on consumer needs. However, the skills of enterprise and innovation were conspicuous by their absence throughout our visits to VTC's (including denominational centres). The culture of VTC's per se, needs to reflect the changing pattern of employment in modern industries where flexibility among employees if cultivated. However, one of the difficult problems to resolve within the VTC system is how to accomplish change, not in name but in attitude, so that instructors reflect the ethos of the institution through their work.

There is a need to provide a programme of recurrent training for instructors to enable them to adapt and operate effectively in the discharge of their duties. Training should include the design process, estimating, marketing and promotion. The question is, who will train the trainers? Part of the programme could be carried out at MVTTC, either by local or international experts, while at the local level links with local industries could assist by reinforcing knowledge and skills taught at the MVTTC. Based on the economic situation in Tanzania, change is more likely to be achieved through financial reward, therefore a possible inducement to encourage the introduction of SR activities based on more flexible working practices could be through profit sharing.

The resulting SR activities would also benefit the trainees, as participation would provide a production environment for them to learn and reinforce their knowledge and skills. A comprehensive training programme that aims to develop flexibility, should be an amalgam of three components, depth, breadth and relevance. *Depth*, implies a thorough grounding in the knowledge and skills of a particular trade, *breadth* involves providing the opportunity to gain an awareness and some understanding of the various activities that take place around the artisan and finally *relevance*, which alludes to the context and resources used in the training process.

The facilities and amenities of the Privately operated VTC's varied enormously from abysmal, to first class and the quality of teaching also reflected this diversity of provision. What is disconcerting is that these institutions that were failing to provide was that they had been inspected and validated by representatives of NVTD. However, in terms of relevance, i.e. preparation for employment in the informal sector, many of these institutions operated in conjunction with informal sector enterprises servicing or repairing vehicles. This enabled trainees to experience first-hand the working conditions they would experience when they completed their training.

7.4.2 *Folk Development Colleges (FDC's)*

The Folk Development Colleges (FDC's) operated by the government have a long history, but the quality of provision of the centres visited depended to a greater extent on the degree of donor support. However, due to a combination of funding and logistical problems many were unable to fulfil their primary objectives and tended to provide courses based on a supply-side, *this-is-what-we-can-do* principle, rather than tailoring courses to fulfil the demand-driven needs of their consumers. This failing was in part attributable to the inability of DO's to undertake regular needs analysis do to a shortage of funds and transport.

Two suggestions to improve the operation of FDC's would be; to abandon attempts to provide out-reach programmes and concentrate on fulfilling the specific needs of the locale. This would facilitate FDC personnel going out into the villages to provide assistance rather than the clients coming to them. This would overcome many of the difficulties associated with incompatibility between the needs of clients and the programmes run by the centre. In addition spare capacity within the centre could be used promote the establishment of new businesses by turning areas into production centres. The second suggestion, is to transfer the ownership to the MLYD and under the auspices of VETA centres would operate as local VTC's offering accredited training programmes geared to the needs of the locale. The foundation exists as centres already provide courses that enable trainees to sit for Trade Tests.

7.4.3 Post Primary Technical Centres (PPTC's)

The final form of training provision visited was the Post primary Technical Centres (PPTC's). Of the 11 centres visited none was found to operating effectively. The system is starved of funds and equipment as no authority wants to take financial responsibility for them. The MEC is responsible for the curriculum, but as PPTC's are not specifically named in any of the Education Acts since the late 1970's they do not accept financial responsibility for their running. The result is that many have ceased to operate, yet they still appear on official documents, while those that do provide little in the way of practical skills training. As a consequence enrolment is poor and drop-out rates are high, as trainees soon become disillusioned and seek alternatives.

Three suggestions for change are; cease this form of provision as they do not represent a viable method of training. The second suggestion is to transfer responsibility to VETA and operate them in a similar manner to that described for FDC's, but the financial implications of refurbishment of many centres would be prohibitive. The third suggestion is more radical and involves turning them into enterprise and production centres, where new businesses could be nurtured prior to placement in the community and where expert assistance would be available for those who want to start a business or provide advice on the development of existing ones.

To elucidate on this suggestion. The lack of a innovation and the need to develop enterprise and initiative has been alluded to earlier, the PPTC's represent one possible method of providing the facilities necessary, as there are over 250 PPTC's sited throughout the country in rural and urban areas attached to primary schools. The principal amenities are buildings, (the condition of which varies from site to site), technical instructors and a ready access to the locale. What would be required is the establishment of specialists capable of undertaking feasibility studies and providing technical assistance and some refurbishment of plant and equipment. The centres would act as nurseries by providing both premises and assistance to people starting a business, this would enable good practice to be reinforced by regular counselling before transplanting them into the community. Once established links would be

maintained to reinforce and develop good practice. The enterprise and production centres would also serve other purposes, a focal point where demonstrations of new plant and equipment could be carried out, as venues for trade specific recurrent training and finally act as a shop-window for the goods produced by those affiliated. The constraints are twofold, the capital to implement is an obvious problem, but the greatest difficulty would be in recruiting people with the requisite skills to manage these centres.

There are examples of initiatives similar to what is suggested, the Crafts and Artisans Promotion Unit (CAPU) is a Lutheran project located in Lushoto. The trade school was started in the 1960's has had a chequered history, closing and re-opening several times, due to financial problems, i.e. when donor assistance was withdrawn the school closed. The CAPU model was developed in 1986 to enhance the informal sector earnings of rural artisans, three centres were established, the other two are in Morogoro/Kilakala and Singida. The approach began with an audit of the locale, to determine the nature and numbers of artisans. This was followed by inviting a number of artisans to the centre for recurrent training lasting about 3 months. The artisans then returned to their homes and began producing goods of a higher value added nature. Contact was maintained with the artisans and further training was given in marketing and promotion skills that enabled them to further develop their business and with it greater financial rewards.

The main constraint to this approach according to the co-ordinator is that when donor support is removed and the artisans are forced to fend for themselves, many revert back to their old habits and working practices.

7.4.4 Private Vocational Training Centres

Local NGO's were left largely to devise their own policies and operated in isolation of the government, focusing their programmes directly towards the needs of the informal sector. Provision in terms of facilities were generally good and they had linkages with the informal sector though which they operated. Trainees produced a range of goods that were subsequently sold. However, there was evidence of training based on the resources of the establishment, rather than on the needs of the marketplace.

There is however, a need to improve the system of registration/accreditation to establish and maintain the quality of private provision. Checks and balances are required to reduce/alleviate the opportunity for corrupt practices in this process.

7.5 The Informal Sector

In examining the composition of informal sector enterprises, there appears to be two distinct models, the first operates a policy of '*ring-fencing*' where entry is restricted to the extended family and close friends. The other, mainly observed in Nguvu kazi groups, represents more of an '*open-door*' policy as the only barrier to entry is the joining fee. In the former case, although the needs of the extended family may well be catered for, family training/apprenticeship structures may seriously inhibit innovation and enterprise, as there is little scope for the introduction of new ideas, methods or processes. In the latter, a general lack of skill(s) and experience by all group members contributes to the difficulties of establishing and maintaining their business. In those instances where groups were established by *skilled* operators, a viable enterprise was more likely. This type of group enabled new members to be admitted that were either already trained, or in the case of younger members,

receive training. The opportunity for innovation and enterprise appears to be greatest in this type of group.

The majority of operators interviewed started without any clear notion of how to operate a business, nor had they the capability to undertake a feasibility study to see if their intended activity would be viable, e.g. if they intended to rear and sell poultry, was there any other local suppliers and if so, what would be the effect on trade. One could not expect people (mainly educated to Std VII) to have the capability to envisage the need for such activities, but it exposes the inherent weaknesses in the system. Groups that have prospered as a result of assistance from the ILO, MLYD or SIDO are testimony that meaningful SR activities can only be achieved by providing a combination of physical resources, capital and the knowledge to effectively manage the enterprise.

The needs of the extended family govern the operational characteristics of many subsistence operators, but in doing so negates the opportunity to maximise the financial return for their labours. Many instances were found of *groups* and *co-operatives* that were actually communes, as they operated to fulfil their individual or family need to the exclusion of all others. This is recognised and capitalised on by middle-men and clients who exploit the plight of those less fortunate. This has led to a *live-for-the-moment, here-today-gone-tomorrow* lifestyle which dominates subsistence operators. One subsistence operator recalled that during the school holidays when his children helped him he earned more. This enabled him to visit the bars, drink *Safari* and buy more meat, and live it up, but when the children returned to school and his earnings were reduced, he was forced to drink the local brew. However, without greater checks and balances to deter corruption by elected executive members of groups, and/or the provision of elementary business skills to subsistence operators, then it is difficult to envisage any significant change in the current situation. The example clearly illustrates that in this particular instance, if the operator engaged an apprentice(s) the transition from subsistence to small-scale operator was possible. This is not to say that all subsistence operators have the potential or capability to become small scale operators, but on the evidence of the study, the potential exists for a significant number of enterprises to achieve this transition, if they received the necessary guidance and support.

The transition from subsistence to small-scale operators appears to correspond to three factors, first a revised work ethic, characterised by a more formal approach to work, i.e. regularity of attendance etc, the second is the type of the work, (the demand for goods or services) and finally, the accumulation of profit to create capital. In practice this discounts many of the Nguvu kazi activities as they fail to fulfil the second factor which is an essential precursor to the third. Operators involved in activities where trade is expanding, i.e. motor vehicles and the manufacture of consumer goods appear to have the most opportunity, but this in itself will not guarantee the necessary accumulation of profit. A key factor in maximising profit is to enlist a number of unpaid apprentices and by staggering this process, an operator can increase his profit, whilst spending the minimum time instructing the trainees.

Many apprentices/trainees receive no wages, only an allowance for meals and transport. The operators do not consider this to be exploitation, merely expediency, to cover the cost of loss or damage, but in practice the youth are expected to operate as artisans, while the operator derives the financial reward.

There is a conflict between the small-scale employer and the state, for to avoid taxation and other legislation capital accumulated is not reinvested in the original business, but diversified and invested in other ventures. In so doing the entrepreneur seeks to evade the attentions of the Treasury and by repeating the process, is capable of accumulating wealth at the expense of the state. However, the avoidance of taxation is endemic and is a throwback to the days of '*wider Keynsian*' economic policies.

Overall, levels of skill are very high but the artisans knowledge of materials and processes is in many instances virtually non existent. VIMEGRO operatives cast 'aluminium' but had only a vague notion that the composition of aluminium varied from product to product, depending on the application. Similarly blacksmiths and welders have very little knowledge of metallurgy and the importance of working metals at certain temperatures, or of selecting the correct welding rod, or the appropriate flame. Although it is acknowledged that many jobs do not require such knowledge e.g. the fabrication of window grills, but when forging a piece of steel or welding a leaf-spring such knowledge is important for it directly effects the quality of the finished product, reliability and in some instances the safety of those who operate or use the product or service.

The prejudices of artisans towards VTC's also prevents many trainees from attending night-school to study for national Trade Tests. This constrains the opportunity for trainees or journeymen (*machinga*) to gain the theoretical knowledge that would enable them to improve the quality of the products or service they provided.

These observations and the comments made by artisans and operators throughout this study have reinforced the belief that within the sector there exists the raw materials, i.e. skilled artisans who if properly assisted could play a significant role in the future socio-economic development of the country. Many of the artisans have demonstrated their potential as innovators, trainers and entrepreneurs, but by their own admission, they are constrained by a lack of knowledge.

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Appendix 1: List of Abbreviations

ATE	Association of Tanzanian Employers
ATET	Association of Tanzanian Employers and Trade Unions
BEST	Basic Educational Statistics for Tanzania
BIS	Basic Industrial Strategy
CAPU	Crafts and Artisans Promotion Unit
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CCT	Christian Council of Tanzania
CDTF	Community Development Trust Fund
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CISP	Centre for Informal Sector Promotion
CUSO	Canadian Universities Students Organisation
CYP	Commonwealth Youth Programme
CSN	Country Strategy Note
DANIDA	The Danish International Development Agency
DASICO	Dar es Salaam Small Industries Co-operative
DED	District Executive Director
DEO	District Education Officer
DES	Department for Education and Science
DO	District Officer
DSM	Dar es Salaam
DTC	District Training Centres
EBP	Education Business Partnership
EDF	Entrepreneur Development Fund
EO	Education Officer
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
ESAP	Economic and Social Action Programme
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
ESRP	Economic and Social Recovery Programme
FDC	Folk Development College
FINNIDA	Finnish International Development Agency
FYDP	Five Year Development Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTZ	German Agency for Technical Co-operation
HE	Higher Education
HRDA	Human Resources Development Act
IBRD	International Bank for reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
ICCO	Inter-Church Co-ordination Committee for Development Projects
ICD	Institute of Curriculum Development
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPI	Institute of Production and Innovation
IS	Informal Sector
ITTU	Intermediate Technology Transfer Unit

JASPA	Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa
LEA	Local Education Authority
MCDWC	Ministry of Community Development Women and Children
MEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MISPA	Micro-enterprise and Informal Sector Agency
MLYD	Ministry of Labour and Youth Development
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
MSTHE	Ministry of Science Technology and Higher Education
MVTTC	Morogoro Vocational Teachers Training College
NACISP	National Council for Micro-Enterprise and Informal Sector Promotion
NESP	National Economic Survival Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPF	National Provident Fund
NAVETA	National Vocational Education Training Authority
NATTAC	National Technical Training Advisory and Co-ordinating Council
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development
NSIC	National Self-Industries Corporation
NVTC	National Vocational Training Centre
NVTD	National Vocational Training Division
NVTP	National Vocational Training Programme
NYC	National Youth Council
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
OIC	Opportunities Industrialisation Centre
PEP	Primary Education Programme
PPF	Parastatal Pension Fund
PPTC	Post Primary Technical Centre
PSL	Primary School Leaver
PSLC	Primary School Leaving Certificate
RDD	Regional Development Director
REO	Regional Education Office
RTC	Regional Training Centre
RYDO	Regional Youth Development Officer
RYTE	Rural Youth Training and Employment Project
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SIDO	Small Scale Industries Development Organisation
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
Std VII	Standard seven
SSP	Secondary Science Project
STS	Science Technology and Society
SVS	Swedish Voluntary Service
TACOSODE	Tanzania Council of Social Development
TADREG	Tanzania Development Research Group
TANGO	Tanzanian Association of Non-Governmental Organisations
TAPA	Tanzanian Parents Association
TFSR	Tools For Self Reliance
TIE	Tanzania Institute of Education

T/sh	Tanzanian Shilling
TVEI	Technical Vocational Educational Initiative
TYDEF	Tanzanian Youth Development Fund
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UK	United Kingdom
UMAGE	Union of Motor Vehicle Mechanics
UN	United Nations
UNCDF	United Nations Capital Development Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEVOC	International Project on Technical and Vocational Education
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Educational Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNV	United Nations Volunteers
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USP	Unified Science Project
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
VET	Vocational Education Training
VETA	Vocational Education Training Authority
VETC	Vocational Education and Training Centres
VIJANA	Tanzanian Youth Organisation
VIMEGRO	Vijana Metal Group
YMCA	Young Mens Christian Association
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas
VTC	Vocational Training Centre
ZSCP	Zanzibar Science Camp Project

Appendix 2: Location and Types of Institutions visited during the study

The United Republic of Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania has is a relatively large country encompassing 945,090 sq.km. The country is divided in to twenty-one regions which covers both the mainland and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

The first phase of the study focused on identifying those organisations, governmental and non-governmental who were involved in providing or supporting youth training and employment. This was carried out in Dar es Salaam where the Headquarters of the Ministries and international donor agencies are situated. The second phase of the study focused on the training of youth and youth employment and involved visiting training centres and workplaces that were situated in both rural and urban areas in fifteen of the twenty-one regions.

The following government offices/ministries and non-governmental organisations who participated in the initial phase of the study

Governmental Offices / Ministries:

Prime Minister and First Vice President:	Registrar of TANGO
Home Affairs:	Registrar of TANGO
Community Development, Women and Children:	Training Division
Education and Culture:	Directorate of Primary Education
Labour and Youth Development:	Training Division (NVTD) Directorate of Youth Department of Labour
District Offices:	Ilala Kinondoni Temeke
Tanzania Bureau of Statistics:	

Non-Governmental Organisations:
Tanzanian National Organisations:

Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT)
Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO)
Tanzania Council of Social Development (TACOSODE)
Tanzania Youth Development and Employment Foundation (TYDEF)
Youth Entrepreneurs Development Fund (EDF)
Dar es Salaam Small Industry Development Corporation (DASICO)
Union of Motor Vehicle Mechanics (UMAGE)

International Organisations:

United Nations:	ILO	International Labour Organisation
	UNDP	Development Programme
	UNESCO	Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
	UNICEF	International Children's Educational Fund
International Donors:	CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
	DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
	GTZ	German Technical Co-operation
	SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
	SNV	Netherlands Development Agency
	USAID	United States of America Aid

The following is a list of the training institutions visited during the second phase of the study.

Arusha:	VTC	Arusha
	PPTSs	Kaloleni
		Singisi
	Church	Burka Technical Vocational Training (*)
		Leguruki Vocational Technical School
	Nguvu kazi	Vijana Metal Group (VIMEGRO)
		Unga-Ltd (CCM)
Coast:	FDCs	(2) Kisarawe Kibaha
DSM:	VTC	Chang'ombe
	Nguvu kazi	Gerezani (2) (DASICO) (UMAGE)
		Temeke (MAE)
	Private	Oasis Autoworks
Dodoma:	VTC	Dodoma NVT and Service Centre
	PPTSs	(2) Mazengo Mtegeta
	Church	Don Bosco Youth Training Centre
		Mpwapwa Diocese Training School
	Nguvu kazi	Kisokwe (Co-operative)
Iringa:	VTC	Iringa
	Church	Don Bosco Youth Training Centre
		Tosamaganga Mission Training School (*)
	Nguvu kazi	Mlandege (3 Co-operatives)
Kilimanjaro:	VTC	Moshi
	FDC	Same
	PPTSs	(4) Marigeni Suji Embua Ntenga
	Church	Same-Chanjale
	Nguvu kazi	Moshi
	Private	Madawi Vocational Training Centre
		Vijana Engineering Association
		Usangi Vocational Training Centre
Mara:	VTC	Mara
Mbeya:	PPTSs	(2) Chimala Halengo
	Private	Jakaranda Vocational Training College
Morogoro:	VTC	Kihonda
	VTTC	Morogoro
	FDC	Bingwa
	PPTS	Msamvu
	Private	Kilosa District Vocational Training Centre

Mwanza:	VTC	Mwanza
Ruvuma:	VTC	Songea
	Church	Peramiho
Singida:	VTC	Singida
	Church	2 (Manyoni) (Ilongero)
Tabora:	VTC	Ulyanklu
Tanga:	VTC	Tanga
	Private	Tanzania Institute of Commerce and Industries
Zanzibar:	VTC	(*)

(*) visited but not currently providing training

Appendix 3: Ministries and NGO's Semi-structured interview schedule

1) What are the factors which influence policy decisions at national, regional and local levels?

2) Are statistics available to ascertain training trends (focusing on the youth 15-30)?

- Is information available on current, past, projected levels of training provision?
- What trades or occupations do you train people for?
- Is information available on current, past, projected levels of funding for training?

3) Does legislation exist to regulate and monitor the quality of provision, eg. accountability?

- If so, what form does it take?

4) How do you identify training needs? (what are the mechanisms used?)

- How training needs are defined in terms of skilled , semi-skilled or labouring?

5) Do you operate an equal opportunities programme in terms of gender?

- If No for what reason(s)?
- What selection criteria do you employ?

6) Training programmes

- What is the duration of your training programmes?
- How are 'skills' and or competencies identified?
- How are 'skills' and or competencies examined?
- Do the trainees receive formal certification on completion of training?
- If trainees receive a certificate, what value do employers place on this?
- What mechanisms are in place to assist successful trainees to gain employment?
- What proportion of trainees gain employment in the field of work for which they have been trained?
- What proportion of trainees (by gender) do not complete the programmes and for what reasons?

Appendix 4: VTC Semi-structured interview-observation schedule

1) How is the organisation financed?

- Sources? government ministries * overseas donors * others
- Self-reliance initiatives, what are they?
- Are they in operation or just planned?

2) Is the institution monitored and assessed?

- By which agencies?
- How frequently?

3) How is the centre managed and organised?

- Management structure?
- Trainer - trainee roles and relationships?
- Gender policy?
- Boarding - day
- The number of trainers? *gender mix*; male female
- Qualifications? *male*; degree * diploma * certificate * VTC * Others * None

  female; degree * diploma * certificate * VTC * Others * None
- What are the factors which govern trainee enrolment?

  catchment * gender ratio * tutorial fees * religious belief * selection tests * school reports * other

4) In terms of popularity of trades, is there evidence of a hierarchy among prospective trainees?

- Are there any discernible gender differences?

5) What links has the institution established?

- With training agents and donors?
- With the community; village, district or local enterprises?
- With prospective employers (both formal and informal)?

6) What are the mechanisms employed in establishing a trainee's placement?

- Are prospective employers vetted?
- If YES what criteria are used to determine the quality of the placement?

7) Do trainees undertaking work placement receive visits from the institution?

- If YES how frequent?
- If NO why?
- Do institutions consider that this activity would be worthwhile?

8) The curriculum: the types of courses operated?

- What courses do the institutions run?
- How were these courses identified - justified?
- Who validates the courses?
- What are the duration of the programmes of study?
- What are the aims and objectives of the training programmes?

9) What criteria are employed to monitor and assess trainee performance?

- What use is made of trainee assessment information?
- Is information passed on to employers?

10) Do trainees receive careers guidance and counselling?

- Who is responsible for providing?
- What training -qualifications have counsellors received?
- When do trainees receive counselling?

11) What proportion of the trainees fail to complete their course?

- By gender? male female
- Reasons? male female

12) Pedagogy: Observing practical teaching/instruction: classroom/laboratory workshop

- schemes of work * lesson plans * quality of resources * use of resource materials * methods of instruction * trainer-trainee interaction

13) Audit of plant and Equipment:

- Fabric of the buildings * general condition of the premises * condition of plant * health and safety

Appendix 5: IS Activities Semi-structured interview-observation schedule

1) Type of enterprise:

- What does the enterprise produce?
- How long has it been established?
- Why did you begin the enterprise?
- How did you start?

2) What assistance have you received from:

- The Municipal Council?
- Agengies such as ILO/ Ministry of Labour and Youth/SIDO etc?
- Any other sources (e.g. CCM, NGO's)?

3) How many employees do you have?

- How were they selected?

4) Markets:

- Why did you decide to start making ..... (market identification)?
- Are there any other similar enterprises in the area?

5) Owner's background:

- What formal education have you received?
- How / where did you learn to .....?
- How long was the training?
- What was the method(s) of instruction?
- What formal training have you received (e.g. trade tests etc)?

6) Training:

- Do you train apprentices?
- How do you train them?
- How long is the training period?
- What do you think are the most important skills they need to know?

- Do you encourage them to study for formal trade tests?
- What other training do you provide?

7) Do you think that primary school education prepares young people for employment?

- What aspects of primary education do you think help young people gain employment?
- What aspects of primary education do you think inhibit young people gaining employment?
- How do you think primary education could/should be improved?

8) Trading practices:

- Do you have a short term business plan?
- Do you have a long term business plan?
- How do you identify future markets?
- How do you think you can survive and grow in the current economic climate?

9) Are you subject to any regulations?

- Formal/national?
- Local, imposed by the town/village?

10) How do you sell your products:

- To a middle (third) person?
- Take them to market and sell them?
- Only make to order?
- How do you fix the price of your products?

11) What is the process by which you and the customer agree on what is to be produced?

12) By what criteria do you judge the quality of your products?

13)To expand your business what new or additional skills or knowledge do you think

- You would require?
- Your employees would require?

Appendix 6: Primary School Pupils Questionnaire

Please would you assist us in completing this important questionnaire. Unless requested to write an answer, please circle what you consider to be the most appropriate answer. Thank you.

Age: Gender: Location:

1) What class are you in? Standard 1 * 2 * 3 * 4 * 5 * 6 * 7

2) Do you think that going to school helps you get a job? YES - NO

- If YES why do you think it helps?

- If NO why do you think it will not help you? (not in terms of general subjects but more in terms of specific knowledge and skills, e.g. how to, or that ...)

3) Which subjects do you enjoy most at school?

1) 2) 3) 4)

- Why did you chosen these subjects?

4) Which subjects do you think will help you get a job? (state the type of job)

1) 2) 3) 4)

- Why did you chosen these subjects?

5) What would you like to do when you leave standard seven? (In addition to identifying the type of activity respondents are requested to quantify their answers, e.g. what job, type of school, apprenticeship etc.)

get a job * go to secondary school * get an apprenticeship * start my own business * don't know * other (please specify)

- Why do you want to do that?

6) What will you probably do when you leave standard seven? (In addition to identifying the type of activity respondents are requested to quantify their answers, e.g. what job, type of school, apprenticeship etc.)

get a job * go to secondary school * get an apprenticeship * start your own business * don't know * other

- If there is a difference between your answers to questions 5 & 6, why do you think you will not be able to do what you would like to do?

7) How well do you think that your primary school education prepares you for work when you leave school?

Not at all * a little * some * a lot * very well

- Please give your reasons why.

8) How would you like to see primary school education improved?

9) Do you have paid work? YES - NO

- If YES why do you work?

- What type of job(s) have you or do you do?

- How did you learn to do the job(s)?

  watching others * trial and error * from Parents * other relations * other (please give details)

10) Whom do you currently work for?

Father * Uncle * other relation(s) * employer * no-one in particular * yourself

- How many days a week? 1 * 2 * 3 * 4 * 5 * 6 * 7
- How many hours a day do you work <1 * 1 - 2 * 2 - 3 * 3 - 4 * 5 - 6 * >6
- How are you paid?

  by the job * by the number of things you make * by the hour * by the day * other (please give details)

- How much do you earn on average in a week?
- What things do you spend the money on? (Please estimate the amounts on each item noted)

Appendix 7: Street Youth Questionnaire

Please would you assist us in completing this important questionnaire. Unless requested to write an answer, please circle what you consider to be the most appropriate answer. Thank you.

Age: Gender: Location:

1) Where were you born?

- If this is different to where you live now how long have you lived at the new address (in years)

  <1 * 2 * 3 * 4 * 5 * 6 * 7 * 8 * 9>

- Why did you move from your place of birth?

  Parents moved * relatives moved * to seek a job * expelled from home * other (please specify)

- Who do you live with now?

  your parents * other relatives * friends * employer * alone

2) What class did you complete before leaving school?

Standard 1 * 2 * 3 * 4 * 5 * 6 * 7

Form 1 * 2 * 3 * 4 * 5 * 6

- If you dropped-out below std VII, why did you give leave school?

3) Which subjects did you enjoy most at school?

1) 2) 3) 4)

- Why did you choose these subjects?

4) Which subjects do you think were most helpful in getting a job? (please state the type of job)

1) 2) 3) 4)

5) Do you think that going to school helped you get a job? YES - NO

- If YES why do you think it helped?

- If NO why do you think it did not help you? (not as school subjects but more about the knowledge and skills you think you needed, e.g. "how to").

6) When you attended school what did you want to do when you left school? (In addition to identifying the type of activity respondents are requested to quantify their answers, e.g. what type of job, or apprenticeship etc.)

get a job * go to secondary school * get an apprenticeship * start your own business

- Why did you want to do that?

7) Did you work for money before leaving school? YES - NO

- If YES what type of job(s) did you do? (list and describe not only the type of job but also your reason(s) for leaving/changing jobs)

8) Who do you currently work for?

Father * Uncle * other relation(s) * employer * no-one in particular * yourself

- How many days a week? 1 * 2 * 3 * 4 * 5 * 6 * 7
- How many hours a day do you work <1 * 1 - 2 * 2 - 3 * 3 - 4 * 5 - 6 * >6
- How are you paid?

by the job * by the number of things you make * by the hour * by the day * other (please give details)

- How much do you earn in a week?
- What things do you spend the money on? (Please estimate the amounts on each item noted)

9) What made you do the job you do now?

- If there is a difference between your answers to questions 5 & 6, why do you think you were prevented from doing what you would have liked to do?

10) If you are self-employed

- How did you get the initial money to set up your business.
- Where or how did you learn to do your job?
- How long have you been self-employed? <1 * 1 - 2 * 2 - 3 * 3 - 4 * 5 - 6 * >6
  (in months if >6 specify how many)

11) What do you think you need to develop your business?

- Why are these things so important?

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to express their appreciation to, Beatrice Daniel our principal research assistant for her very conscientious efforts in the compilation of information during the research phase, Susan Camm for her daily typing during the field study and to Hororata Fungo for accurately transcribing the data. Further thanks to Shirley Brace and Susan Lonergan the secretaries from CSSME, Leeds who typed the original data.

We would like to thank our respective institutions, the Centre for Studies in Science and Mathematics Education, University of Leeds and the Department of Curriculum and Teaching, Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam. In particular to colleagues who have provided advice and assistance over the last two years.

To the British Council in Dar es Salaam, especially Grace Kimaro, for assisting us in numerous ways.

We would like to acknowledge the assistance and co-operation of officers from Ministries, local and national NGO's, and the Principals, Headteachers, staff and informal sector artisans who contributed to this study.

We also thank Gren Jones, Digby Swift, Terry Allsop and Graham Larkbey of the Overseas Development Administration for providing the funding and other assistance that has enabled us to carry out this study.

Another valued contributor was Susan Kent who patiently checked the text, offered critical comments and gave moral support to the writers. To Maria and Susan for their forbearance, understanding and support during our safaris, thank you!

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ISBN: 0 902500 74 0